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A
V I E W
OF THE
POLITICAL CONDUCT
OF

AARON BURR, Esq.

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES;

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE "NARRATIVE."

NEW-YORK:

Printed by DENNISTON & CHEETHAM,

No. 142, PEARL-STREET.

.....

1802.

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James Cheetham 175

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TOUGHARD INSTITUTION

AT THE MOUNTAIN

STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE

JANUARY 1880

REPORT

OF THE

INTRODUCTION.

IN my preface to the "NARRATIVE," I invited investigation of the facts set forth in it, and of the general conduct of Mr. BURR. This invitation was given in vain. Not a word stated in the Narrative has yet been controverted. Indeed the facts it contains are of that stubborn kind that bids defiance to controversy, and beats down all opposition. It will hardly be said that their verity has not been questioned on account of the absence of Mr. BURR; since, had they been unfounded, his agents, his zealous and thorough-going friends, must have known it; and it will scarcely be believed that they would stand by and see the *little body* round which they are whirled, so seriously attacked, without interposing a shield for his protection. I will not do the "*little band*" so much injustice as even to imagine them capable of such *dastardly* conduct.

On the other hand, I am not disposed to interpret their silence into a confession of the guilt of their principal; though it must be confessed appearances make against them. This silence is sometimes properly, but frequently surreptitiously observed. A transcendently exalted character, publicly accused of a *little, mean, disreputable* act, of which he could scarcely be guilty, and which few men would accredit, would hardly descend from his god-like eminence to notice the calumniator. So that this *mute* conduct will not be adduced as a proposition universally true. This is so generally known that many men avail themselves of the *convenience*, who ought to be adjudged, if not infamous, unworthy of the confidence of the public,

and as having deservedly forfeited their good opinion. In this case it is a *villain* covering himself with the mantle of *illustrious* virtue.

Another strongly presumptive incident is, that, in the present controversy, of which the Vice-President is the subject, the "*little band*" are unequivocally the aggressors. *They* were the first to declare war; *they* provoked resistance. *They* called for examination; and no sooner was it commenced than *they* shrank from it! Under these circumstances would it be fair to say that since they are silent they are innocent? One might as truly affirm that the most atrocious offender was immaculate, *because* when put to trial, he refused to plead!

Again. Is it not peculiarly incumbent on the "*little band*" and their *primum mobile*, the Vice-President, to evince to the public that the serious charges exhibited against *him* are devoid of foundation? Upon *this* hang the popularity and the Vice-Presidency of Mr. BURR! Will they remain mute when so much is at stake? Are they not concerned for the honour of their Chieftain and of themselves? Do they not know that the *Marshals*, the *Bank Solicitors*, and the *Mercuries*, will be whelmed in his fall? And at this thought, do not their "*souls shrink back, and startle at destruction*?" All these considerations are surely enough to make them arouse themselves "and shake the enemy from them." Catiline treated with disdain the denunciations of Cicero, until every avenue of retreat was cut off. I hope *America* is not destined to furnish an example of this *treasonable* pertinacity!

But were I to adventure an opinion I would affirm that, were the Vice-President now in this city, he would himself be mute ! Mr. Burr must be conscious that the offences with which he stands accused before the public are *well founded*. Prudence, therefore, whose imperious mandates urged him to prescribe silence to the "*little band*" would close his lips. No man knows how to manage disagreeable truths better than Mr. Burr !

But this introduction is designed to anticipate and to combat very different topics from those already noticed. The character faithfully drawn of Mr. Burr in the following pages, is so complex, so stript of precise and indelible marks ; so mutable, capricious, versatile, unsteady and unfixt, one to which no determinate name can be given, and on which no reliance can be placed, that serious questions may arise from it. It appears that, from his *Debut* on political life, he has been every thing and nothing ; that he has been ascending the ladder of fame and power by means on which no *honest* man can reflect with satisfaction ; and it may be added that all this must have been known to those who raised him to his present eminence in the government ; and being conscious that he was no less destitute of a determinate principle than of political consistency, it were criminal to exalt him to an height from which he might hurl destruction upon the people. This, it must be admitted, has some weight ; it has at least a plausible appearance.

I candidly confess I am one of those who were unacquainted with the true character of Mr. Burr, until his singular conduct since the Election of Mr. Jefferson, induced me to examine the more early parts of it. I may go

farther and with sincerity and truth aver, that I was friendly to his election to the office of Vice-President. And yet had I then known that portion of his character which relates to the period antecedent to his elevation, I should have viewed myself as a wretch unworthy to inspire the breath of freedom, had I not zealously and with all my might opposed it. I should have viewed Mr. Burr as a dangerous man ; as one truly unfit for the exalted station he now fills. For I hold it to be a maxim from which departures cannot with safety be made, that public agents, especially the highest officers of state, ought to be men of steadiness and rectitude of principle, and of morals spotless. I hesitate not to say, on a full view of the subject, that Mr. Burr had no title to any of these good qualities. If our public agents be corrupt, the malady will spread like a pestilence ; and when morals shall become only a name to varnish over crimes, the solid basis of freedom will be removed, and the structure must inevitably fall.

This may tend to show the necessity there is for information, as well as its energy in a free state. In a despotic one, it may make a slave miserable by making him sensible of his condition ; but in *our country*, it is the soul that animates, and which is alone competent to uphold, the body politic.

It will give no offence to the Majesty of truth to say, that the PEOPLE, the great mass, were, like *myself*, strangers to the conduct of Mr. Burr. It is doubtless to this *ignorance* of character that he owes his elevation. The people cannot, wittingly, be guilty of a *se lo de se*.

But the conduct of Mr. Burr must have been known to those whose situations in life enabled them to observe it.

Of this not a doubt can be entertained; and it would seem criminal for such to conceal it. Yet, while hopes of reformation were cherished, while Mr. Burr did not appear incorrigible, it might have seemed to them expedient to abstain from a public exposition of his character. Indeed, it is in extreme cases only that such a procedure can be justifiable. The present is one of them. His defects now appear to be inveterate and incurable; and their obstinacy, without a timely and salutary remedy, may endanger the tranquillity and freedom of the states.

I have endeavoured to represent the character of Mr. Burr in its true light. In doing this I have been actuated only by those considerations for the public welfare which every good citizen must feel. My opinion may be erroneous; it may be the effect of an over-ardent zeal for public liberty; I hope it is so, though I am persuaded it is not. I have done, however, what appeared to me to be my duty, without *fear* or the expectation of *selfish* reward. I have warned the people of an evil of great magnitude: it is for *them* to apply a remedy.

New-York, June 22d, 1802.

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A VIEW, &c.

"When you shall these unlucky Deeds relate,
Speak of them as they are ; nothing extenuate
Nor set down aught in Malice."

MR. BURR commenced his public career in the revolutionary army. He accompanied the illustrious **MONTGOMERY** in his attack on Quebec. At that period he was quite a youth. In the revolutionary service he filled, at different times, subordinate posts ; but he retired from it some years previous to the cessation of hostilities. Although not distinguished by the brilliancy of his military exploits, he left the army, it is believed, with unfulfilled reputation.

For many years posterior to the peace of 1783, Mr. Burr appears to have been an indifferent spectator of passing events. During the memorable discussions which took place on the acceptance, by the States, of the Federal Constitution, and which excited in Europe, as well as in America, the most lively sensibility; Mr. **BURR** was dormant. In an event so momentous, which laid the foundation of this flourishing Empire, warmed the hearts of the hoary, and commanded the attention of the unconcerned, to behold such extreme insensibility, is a phenomenon. Cupidity, however, appears to have been an attribute of Mr. **BURR** from his youth upwards. He contemplated, in silence, the two conflicting parties. Aspiring to power and distinction, he meditated on which side of the political

Scales he could throw his weight with most advantage to himself. In this state of irresolution he continued until the year 1789, when he made his election, and ranked himself among those who had then, and who have ever since, denominated themselves *Federalists*. Mr. BURR therefore began his political life in *opposition* to the *Republican* party.

Such was his *Debut*: henceforward we shall view him on the theatre of politics, acting and being acted upon.

About this period the Mechanics of the City of New-York, petitioned the State Legislature for an act of incorporation. Mr. BURR's opposition to the petition, though not then in the Legislature, was the first part of his political conduct which excited public attention. His reasons for that opposition are not exactly known; but it is presumed that he anticipated dangerous consequences from an association of men whose political sentiments were adverse to those which he at that time espoused.

We next see Mr. BURR acting a prominent part in a more extended sphere, and avowing his sentiments with great explicitness. In the year 1789, the triennial Election for Governor of this State recurred. Emphatically in the State of New-York, the two great parties who now divide the Union, were, at that early period of our existence as an Independent Nation, distinctly and indelibly marked. The political animosities to which the discussions of the Federal Constitution gave birth, were fresh, lively, and vigorous. In the State Convention the line of demarkation between the two opposite parties, was accurately drawn and definitively settled. The *federal*

party, as it is speciously but spuriously termed, was compounded, in some sort, of dissonant materials. It embraced, and still continues to admit, men who were not only hostile in sentiment, but who *took up arms* against the revolution ; as well as many, who, from whatever motive, contended in the cabinet and in the field in its defence. A variety of propitious circumstances concurred to favour their stratagems and crown their efforts with success. Their triumphant advocacy of what may be justly termed the peccant parts of the Constitution, yielded them a transient ascendancy. The eventual acquiescence of the Union in the adoption in gross of the Federal Constitution, was erroneously viewed by them as a dereliction of the Revolutionary Sentiment. Mistaking the effect for the cause, flushed with imaginary victory, and reeling with its inebriating effects, they considered the United States as having capitulated to the doctrines of the "*Old School* !" and they sanguinely hoped that, by *proper management*, the polity which had been exploded at the point of the bayonet, might be tranquilly and successfully revived.

Among those who were anxious to apply judiciously the pruning knife to the Constitution, and to add to the security of freedom by apposite amendments, governor Clinton and chief Justice Yates stood conspicuous. The latter was a member of the Convention in which the Constitution originated, but he early seceded from it, since it transcended its instructions and exhibited a spirit incompatible with the manifestations of the public will. The former was a member of the Convention of this State, instituted to consider the proposed Constitution. Their sentiments, as to the main question harmonized. They

were alike zealous and genuine friends of freedom, and equally active and indefatigable in its defence. Of the propriety and expediency of amendments to the Constitution, the Republicans and the Federalists differed in opinion. The former were solicitous to add amendments to the Constitution anterior to its adoption; the latter for its adoption without them: they were willing to run the risk of subsequent emendations. Judge Yates and governor Clinton advocated the propriety of previous amendments.

It was deemed expedient to give this general outline of the state of parties in the year 1789, to enable the reader to form a distinct idea of the conduct of Mr. Burr at that period.

But though the federalists had been generally successful in resisting the salutary amendments to the constitution proposed in different Conventions; though the people at large, under the then existing circumstances, wisely preferred the adoption of the Federal Constitution, imperfect as it was, to the antecedent state of things, they were far from having abandoned Republican tenets. On all questions of State polity, apart from that of the Federal Constitution, the Republican party were the more powerful of the two. It is however conceded that the discussion of the Constitution, and circumstances which naturally grew out of the known imbecility of the old Confederation, of which they dexterously availed themselves, gave a tone and vigour to the Federal or Anti-Republican party, by condensing their numbers and imparting to them a distinct character.

Stratagem is generally the concomitant of weakness; and to this the Federalists of this State had recourse to subdue by dividing the Republican party. It is presumed that this artful project was principally the work of General Hamilton; its execution, however, was aided by all the zeal and activity of Mr. Burr.

At that period, (1789) the anniversary of the Election of the Chief Magistrate, George Clinton was Governor of this State. The Republicans resolved to support his re-election, and the Federalists to oppose it. The latter fixed upon Judge Yates as their candidate, in the hope that, by dividing the Republican party, they might triumphantly rise on their ruins. Judge Yates, who was a sound whig, so far committed an error as to permit himself to be supported by the Federalists in opposition to the Republican candidate.

As usual, a federal committee in this city were organized, of which General Hamilton was chairman. Of this federal committee, Mr. Burr was *an active and distinguished member*. He was, however, evidently eclipsed by the General, who was at that time the spoiler and the spoiled child of the federal party. This celebrated committee were not inactive. Their appeals to the public through the press were numerous, and distinguished by acrimony and invective. In an address of the committee, signed "Alexander Hamilton, Chairman,"* the Republicans and their then Governor, are charged, in language extremely intemperate, with designs to subvert the Constitution; and those hackneyed and unmeaning epithets, now

* See Mc. Lean's Gazette, April 28, 1789.

so liberally applied by the federal party to the genuine friends of the Constitution and the supporters of the administration, are used with great freedom. Were the allegations well founded, it was unfortunate for Hamilton and Burr that their own candidate, Judge Yates, had, with Governor Clinton, uniformly opposed the unsound parts of the Federal Constitution: they had been alike zealous and active to obtain a more perfect one.

The exertions of the party, however, with Hamilton and Burr at their head, failed of success. Governor Clinton was re-elected by a large majority.

It was soon discovered that Mr. Burr viewed with envy the superior estimation in which the federal party held his rival General Hamilton. The same ardently aspiring spirit which governs him now, swayed him then. Like Cæsar, he could not brook a superior. They were jealous rivals at the bar; but in the view of the federal party, Burr, in comparison of Hamilton, was truly a secondary character. This mortifying consideration, together with the ascendancy of the Republican party, manifested in the election of the Governor, and the appointment of Hamilton to the office of Secretary of the Treasury in preference to himself, have always been considered as the cause of Mr. Burr's uniting himself to the Republicans.

Here Mr. Burr exhibited a memorable instance of an *accommodating* disposition. In 1791, the seat of General Schuyler, a Senator of this State in the Senate of the United States, became vacant. General Schuyler's fiscal acquirements were known to be great; and there was

good reason to believe, that he had a considerable share in projecting and maturing those injurious plans of his Son-in-law, the then Secretary of the Treasury, which were sanctioned by an infatuated majority in the National Government. Hence it was deemed important to supercede him in the Senate by one less attached to the funding system of Great-Britain, and more to the substantial interests of his country. This was within the power of our State Legislature, a majority of whom were Republican. It was supposed that Col. Burr, who was *now* on the *Republican* side of the house, would, from his insuperable dislike of Hamilton, oppose his funding and other pernicious schemes ; and having received from him assurances that he would advocate Republican measures, he was elected to fill the vacant seat in the Senate, on the 19th day of January, 1791,

Here Mr. Burr's ambition was somewhat gratified, and those wounds which the appointment of Hamilton to the office of Secretary of the Treasury inflicted, were cicatrized by the *Republican* party, against whom he originally appeared on the theatre of politics.

Nothing very remarkable in the conduct of Mr. Burr occurred until April 1792, the returning period of the general election for Governor. One would imagine that *gratitude* for the signal benefits conferred upon him,* would have induced him cordially to unite his exertions with those of the Republican party. But Mr. Burr seems to have been indifferent to any interest but his own. He was absorbed in self-love : he had only one object in

* Mr. Burr was appointed Attorney General of this State, and filled that office when he was elected to a seat in the National Senate.

view, the gratification of an all grasping, never-to be satisfied ambition ; and this he pursued with exhaustless ardour and indefatigable activity. But as it is with him now, so it was then, the very means he employed for the attainment of his wishes, were of all others the best calculated to defeat himself.

The *Republican* Interest again determined to support the re-election of Governor Clinton : the *Federalists* were somewhat at a loss for a Candidate ; their former one, Judge Yates, having declined to be held up against the Governor.* In this situation of affairs, Mr. Burr deemed it expedient to *cause himself* to be announced as a candidate in opposition to the one whom the Republicans had agreed to support. This was done in the full expectation that the Federalists would readily and cordially unite to raise him to the Chief Magistracy of the State. Accordingly corresponding exertions were made by a few of Mr. Burr's friends.† A meeting was held in the city consisting of seventeen persons *only*, who agreed to support him in opposition to the Governor. This meeting was composed partly of his personal friends, who then resided in the city, and others from the country ; the principal part of whom were *Federalists*. It was soon, however, perceived, that nothing could be done by a number so small, without the aid of one of the great contending parties ; and it was found, in despite of the many machinations which were employed, that the adherence of the Republicans to the

* See Greenleaf's Journal, and Patriotic Register, February 29th, 1792.

† It seems the Vice-President had a " *little band*," as the " *American Citizen*" terms a few of his *thorough-going* friends, even at that early period.

Governor, could not be shaken. Application was therefore made to the *federal* party, by a few of Mr. Burr's friends; and it is presumed with his concurrence, to take him up as their candidate. Here General Schuyler, to whom the application was made, found himself in a delicate situation. It was the policy of himself and his party to avail themselves of any and every mean to obtain ascendancy over the Republicans; but he could not forget that he was superceded in the Senate by Mr. Burr! During the negotiation a federal meeting was called, and a committee appointed to wait on Mr. Jay, to request him to consent to be considered their candidate for the office of Governor.* Mr. Jay gratefully accepted the offer, to the infinite disappointment and mortification of Mr. Burr.

At this time Mr. Burr was at Philadelphia, where the Senate of the United States were in session. Immediately

* The Resolution of the federal meeting is as follows:

"Whereas some doubts have been expressed, whether Mr. Jay would *serve* in the office of Governor of this state, therefore Resolved, that a committee be appointed to wait on Mr. Jay, and communicate our wishes for his election, as a measure, in our opinion, highly conducive to the honour and happiness of the state, and request him to declare his consent to serve, *if he has the suffrages* of his fellow citizens." The committee having accordingly waited on Mr. Jay, with a copy of the preceding resolution, reported, that Mr. Jay had authorized them to inform the meeting, that he had consented to be proposed as a candidate for the office of Governor, at the ensuing election, and that it would give him great satisfaction to serve his fellow citizens in that office, if honoured with their suffrages."

(Signed) JOHN ALSOP, Chairman,
Greenleaf's Patriotic Register, March 2, 1792.

after it was known that the proposition had been made to Mr. Jay, and that he had assented to it, two of Mr. Burr's friends were dispatched to meet him at Princeton, in New-Jersey. Here a consultation was held, and it appearing that there was no prospect of success from *either party*, it was *sagely* concluded that Mr. Burr's friends should declare his *disinclination* to be a candidate ! This ridiculous farce was accordingly announced in the papers ! * Governor Clinton was re-elected.

Henceforward one would imagine Mr. Burr would throw off this duplicity, assume a definite character, and act the part of a wise and upright Statesman. The chagrin, which, labouring under this accumulated load of disgrace a man of ordinary sensibility must have felt, would have induced expiation by future exemplary conduct. But Mr. Burr's pursuits were not to be impeded by pebbles !

Still were his views directed to the Chief Magistracy of the State Government. He entertained no hopes of a foreign Embassy from the Federal executive. WASHINGTON knew his character, and it was now generally believed would never confer an office upon him.

* Greenleaf notices this annunciation of Mr. Burr's *extreme delicacy* in the following paragraph.

"We hear from Albany, that every exertion is making to promote the interest of Mr. Jay ; and from sundry other places that the same zeal is manifesting itself for Mr. Clinton. Mr. Burr's friends having declared his *unwillingness* to be a candidate ; these two powerful competitors, left sole possessors of the ground, have a fair opportunity to try their acknowledged merits for the exalted office of Governor of this state."

Journal, and Patriotic Register, March 7th, 1792.

In 1794 and the early part of 1795, the health of Governor Clinton was much impaired. Labouring under bodily infirmity, he *intended* to decline the acceptance of a re-election which was tendered him by the Republican party. The Governor, however, observed a judicious silence on the subject of his resignation, and communicated his intention to decline a re-election to a few confidential friends only. It was foreseen that a too early disclosure of his intentions, would, in all probability, be attended with injurious consequences ; that various candidates would arise, and clashing pretensions be urged, which might so distract the party as to prevent unanimity upon any one candidate. The State Legislature were to meet at Poughkeepsie, on the 6th of January, 1795, but the Governor's ill health preventing his attendance at that place, the seat of deliberation was transferred to New-York, where they met on the 20th. It was deemed expedient for the Governor to announce his intention to decline to be a candidate at the approaching election, at this *time* and *place* only, where a general meeting of the Republican party was expected, and where the jarring pretensions of the rival candidates might be imperatively settled by as large a number of Republicans as could be conveniently got together. Accordingly on the 22d, Governor Clinton, and on the 24th of January, Pierre Van Courtlandt, the venerable Lieutenant Governor, announced in the papers their *declining a re-election.

Mr. Burr was sensible that the *federal party* were now committed to Mr. Jay, and that he had nothing to expect from them at the then coming election. The small chance

* Greenleaf's Register, January 28th, 1795.

he had was with the *Republican* party, and to them all his attention was directed. To succeed it was necessary that Governor Clinton should not be the Republican candidate. He, therefore, long before it was generally known that the Governor intended to decline a re-election, and even previous to the meeting of the Legislature at Poughkeepsie, fixed his mind on this essential point. A project was resorted to, to compel the Governor, by stratagem, to decline. Various attempts under plausible pretexts were accordingly made; and it is believed, indirectly on the part of Mr. Burr. A letter was written, by three Republicans* of this city to an influential member of the Legislature, then (on the 6th of January) in session at Poughkeepsie, cautiously worded, but evidently intended to unite the Republican party in representing to Governor Clinton the expediency of his declining, and the propriety of taking up Mr. Burr in his stead. The respectable member to whom the letter was addressed very properly resented and exposed the finesse. It was his opinion that the finger of Mr. Burr was visible in the transaction; and it was apprehended, from this sample of intrigue, that Mr. Burr would continue his attempts unduly to influence the opinions of individuals in his favour, and by so doing palm himself upon the party against their better judgment. Measures were taken to counteract this design. A meeting of the Republicans was had, who unanimously resolved to support Governor Clinton if he wished to serve. An ultimate decision was however deferred until it could be known at New-York, (to which place the Legislature intended to adjourn,) whether the

* The writer knows their names, and the contents of the letter. Delicacy prevents his mentioning the former. One of them is a member of the present *little band*.

Governor would serve again or not, and where a larger meeting of Republicans was expected.

After the resignation of Governor Clinton at New-York was publicly announced, a meeting of about forty influential Republicans, from various parts of the State, principally members of the Legislature, was called; and on a plenary view of the subject, it was agreed to decide by ballot who should be the candidate. As usual the PERSONAL friends of Mr. Burr were peculiarly active. All their arts of simulation and dissimulation were adroitly employed. Of the forty votes, however, Mr. Burr had no more than SIX! Not a member of the Legislature nor a person who resided out of the city it is believed voted for him. Those who gave him their suffrages, were his mere personal friends who resided in the city, and who were supposed to be victims of his intrigue. The result shewed the insignificance of his influence and the inferiority of his pretensions. Judge Yates was the candidate whom the meeting agreed to support. This gentleman, though he permitted himself in the year 1789, to be held up by the federalists for the office of Governor, which was an error, never abandoned his party.

It is reasonable to suppose that Mr. Burr, who in the year 1789, supported with so much zeal the election of Judge Yates in opposition to Governor Clinton, would, with no less ardency, aid his election in 1795. But Mr. Burr could not forget that he was himself the unsuccessful Candidate, and Judge Yates his fortunate rival. Pursuing that selfish, non-discript, but ambitious system, which had hitherto marked his political steps, in fullen disappointment he folded his arms and retired within his

shell. During the election, he observed a strict neutrality between the Candidates. This conduct plainly bespoke the opinion, that if he could do nothing for himself, he would do nothing for the party to whom he was supposed to be attached. Mr. Jay having prevailed over Judge Yates, the federal party, for the first time, obtained an ascendancy in the State Government, which they maintained for five years.

Mr. Burr's seat in the senate of the United States became vacant March 3d, 1797, but the State Legislature being now *federal*, he was not re-elected.

This year he was a candidate for the Vice President, but of the 138 votes he had only thirty. "His political standing was so young, himself so little known generally, and his sentiments, where they were understood, were viewed as so very ambiguous, that his pretensions were rather a subject of ridicule than of serious import. At the same time, he was suspected of having tampered with some of the federal party in our State Legislature. It was supposed that John Bird, and Thomas Morris were in his interest; and it was contemplated, and in fact attempted to hold up a ticket of federal electors, who, from their intimacy with Mr. Burr, would probably vote for him. As an evidence of this intrigue the reader is referred to the Journal of the Assembly, which, to any one acquainted with the persons then in the Legislature, will sufficiently indicate it."

Still Mr. Burr's intrigue and want of a steady uniform principle, were known but to a few persons, and these deemed it prudent (I will not say with what wisdom) to conceal them.

During the time Mr. Burr was in the federal Senate, few party questions of moment occurred. The Federal Government was then in its infancy of error, if not of iniquity. He opposed, however, with zeal and firmness that noxious instrument, the British Treaty. In this, his conduct was highly acceptable to the Republican party, and obtained deserved applause.

In this year (1797) Mr. Burr was elected a member of the State Assembly for the city of New-York. This was the first time, for some years, the Republicans had been successful in that city. The rapidity with which Federal measures approached to despotism, diminished the numbers of the Federal and strengthened the Republican party. The weakness of the Federalists was indeed so apparent to themselves, that, to add vigour to their party, they deemed it expedient to compose their ticket of Republicans and Federalists. By exhibiting this conciliatory disposition, they hoped to retain a portion of that power, the whole of which they were in danger of losing.

The following session of the Legislature, was, in various respects, important. The temporary ascendancy of the Federal party was evidently on the wane. The sun of Republicanism, which had sustained a transient eclipse, was emerging resplendent from its preternatural obscurity. The election for Governor was to occur the ensuing year. Success materially depended on the wisdom and vigour of our measures; on cherishing the party by a cordial interchange of sentiment, and by pursuing steps calculated to diminish the numbers and attenuate the spirit of our op-

ponents. Mr. Burr, however, was far from promoting the one or contributing to effect the other. In the Legislature, he neither exhibited that firmness nor activity for which so much credit has been improperly given him. He appeared rather as an isolated individual, belonging to no party, than a warm and active friend of the Republican cause. He rarely if ever attended a Republican meeting, and *never*, it is believed, wrote a single line in support of freedom.

In 1798, a year distinguished by Federal terror and proscription, the election for Governor of the State occurred. Mr. Burr was now sensible that it would neither be proper nor availing for himself to be held up as the Republican candidate. For that exalted office Chancellor Livingston was supported by the Republican party. While Mr. Burr abstained from opposing the nomination of the Chancellor, he studiously avoided doing any thing to promote his election. The Chancellor was, however, honourably and spiritedly supported by the great body of his friends: Mr. Burr was the only man of note in the party who appeared listless of the event.

Notwithstanding, circumstances conspired to favour the re-election of his opponent, Mr. Jay, who succeeded by a large majority. But although we lost the election of the learned candidate for the office of Governor, we acquired strength in the Legislature. A Republican representation, with the exception of one man, was again sent from the city of New-York; and in this representation Mr. Burr was included.

We shall now take a cursory view of his conduct in the Assembly, and see how far it is honorable to himself, or affords to the party who have hitherto given him their support, reasonable ground of confidence.

It has been already stated that Mr. Burr rarely attended the meetings of the Republican members of the Legislature: it may be added that in his individual intercourse with them, he manifested a stiff and unfriendly reserve. He always appeared intent upon playing the part of a *wily*, rather than that of an *honest*, comprehensive, and profound statesman. With the eyes of a lynx, he was more on the watch to convert incidental circumstances to his private advantage, to the furtherance of his immeasurably ambitious views, than to seize and appropriate them to the public weal. While therefore he was distrusted by the Federalists, he was suspected by his own party. On trying and delicate questions, or such as might expose him to the obloquy and censure of his opponents, he was backward in exhibiting his sentiments. He was known to mingle with the opposite party in the Legislature, and frequently to manifest a double front. His tergiversating conduct on many important points, furnished abundant reason to suspect the purity of his views, and the sincerity of his political professions. He frequently exhibited solicitude for the success of federal measures in the house, by a wary avoidance of opposition to them; measures which could not be carried without vitally injuring the cause he ostensibly espoused. Proof of this assertion shall be adduced.

In the year 1799, a Council of Appointment were to be chosen. The Republicans elected Mr. Denning, (a Republican) one of its members. John Addison and Ebenezer Foote, were the next two candidates; the former a *Republican*, the latter a *Federalist*. In the election of Mr. Denning, it was apparent that the Republicans had a majority; and with proper attention, this majority might have been preserved in the election of every member of the Council. It was a favorite point to prevent the election of Foote, whose hatred of the Republicans was keen and implacable. Between Mr. Burr and Mr. Foote, however, a cordial interchange of sentiment had not in the least been interrupted by the passing events of the day. Their intimacy had been long, their friendship apparently mutually warm and sincere. Foote was always a strenuous supporter of Mr. Burr. In 1792 he was one of those who nominated him for the executive office in opposition to Governor Clinton. This was the period when Mr. Burr, after his name had been announced for the office, and after it was ascertained that neither the *Republicans* nor *Federalists* would give him support, caused his *unwillingness* to be held up as a candidate—first discovered at the consultation had at Princeton—to be declared in the public papers! In 1795, Foote again came forward in support of Mr. Burr, and at a meeting at Newburgh, got him nominated for Governor in opposition to Judge Yates, the Republican candidate. It was not to be supposed, that so much zeal and activity would be readily forgotten by Mr. Burr, who felt a lively recollection of them in the house, on the question of Foote's election to the Council of Appointment. Mr. Burr, however, was *delicately* situated. On the one hand he could not with pro-

priety vote against the party to whom he had *generally* been attached ; and on the other, he thought it not expedient to disoblige Foote, who *had* been, and who *might* on future occasions be, useful to him. There was only one expedient to which Mr. Burr could have recourse to get rid of the difficulty, and to his perspicacity this was palpable, it was simply to absent himself from the house till the question on the two candidates were taken, which he accordingly did, and Foote prevailed, 49 to 47 votes. * This conduct of Mr. Burr did not escape the notice of the Republican members, who were generally of opinion that he was the principal cause of the defeat of the Republican candidate. Foote was the main instrument in the Council of the persecutions subsequently sustained by the Republicans.

The next item in the catalogue of Mr. Burr's double dealing, concerned the appointment of a state treasurer. Young Philip, the son of Gen. Schuyler, was mentioned by the Federalists for the important office. He was a young man who had no claim but that of connection. Mr. Burr employed every mean of which he was master, to induce the Republicans to vote for him. His former conduct however had excited much suspicion, and his proposition was accordingly rejected with suitable disdain. It was thought that Mr. Burr had been tampering with the General, in the hope of gaining something from his influence in the State.

In August, 1798, Mr. Jay called an extra meeting of the Legislature, for the double purpose of promoting the reig-

* See *Journal of the Assembly for 1799.*

of terror, and seconding the mad operations of John Adams. To combat the spectres raised by the ex-administration, fortifications were to be erected, and the country at once converted into a camp. Mr. Burr felt or feigned to feel the tremulations of the Federal concussion. He entered into the war-measures of the general and State administrations, with a zeal worthy of the most infuriate Federalist of the times. His ardour for expending the money of the State on the war-projects of the day, was excessive. In the Assembly he moved for an appropriation of *twelve hundred thousand dollars*, to put the city he represented in a good state of defence. The motion, however, did not succeed; *two hundred thousand dollars* only were appropriated.

It will hardly be believed that Mr. Burr partook of the general alarm which had been artfully excited. Recourse therefore to this pretence will not be had to justify his conduct. Even his enemies allow him to be a man of coolness and calculation; not much liable to female caprice or childish fear. He doubtless knew that the care of the general defence appertained solely to the general government: and that it was not only the duty but the interest of that government, to put in the best state of defence the port of New-York, which pays into the National Treasury upwards of three millions of dollars annually. Beside, it ought to have been considered by Mr. Burr, that the *General Government* brought us into the situation in which we were placed, and that it was *their exclusive* business to get us out of it. Twelve hundred thousand dollars would have entailed on our citizens endless taxation.

This dashing proposition of Mr. Burr, however, was not supposed to have been made without an eye to himself. It was believed at the time, that the gratuity was not offered to the general government without a view to a commensurate return. It was rumoured that Mr. Burr was to be appointed a Major General in the service of the United States, and it was supposed that he wished to be a Commissioner to superintend the expenditure of the twelve hundred thousand dollars !

“ The erection of a new office to superintend the exaction of escheats on the part of the state, was an object which now attracted the attention of the Legislature. This would have been a lucrative office, if rigidly attended to. It might comprehend cases where a man died without heirs—where his relations were aliens—where an alien held lands without legislative authority—where the conditions of a patent, such as a settlement within a given time, were not performed, and where a corporation held more power than is allowed by the grant, or fail to comply with the prescriptions of the charter. Well intentioned men wished to confine the powers and duties of the escheator to the two first parts only. But Mr. Burr's plan comprehended them all. This would have shaken almost all the new landed property of the state, and much of the old. Charters would have vanished like enchanted ground before the magic rod of the escheator. Trinity Church would have been shaken by this political earthquake, and all the rich corporations whose incomes exceed their prescribed sums, would have been at the mercy of this state inquisitor.

The more the escheator sacrificed the greater would be his profits ; for the plan was to give him the eighth of the avails after paying all expences. Such was the scheme of Mr. Burr. And whom do you think he intended for the escheator ? Himself ! Yes, reader, himself ! The selfishness of the plan however transpired ; the inexpediency of the act in so comprehensive a sense was apparent, and it was consequently rejected."

These proceedings were but poorly calculated to inspire confidence, or establish popularity.

It is, however, admitted that the conduct of Mr. Burr was in some respects, meritorious. But this was more the effect of incidental circumstances, than of a righteous principle steady and unbending in the pursuit of what is good.

On the proposed amendment of the state of Massachusetts to the federal constitution, Mr. Burr distinguished himself in the legislature of this state. The amendment, as it was termed, went to disqualify persons naturalized from holding seats in congress. A measure so illiberal, and inexpedient, could hardly be justified by any event. None certainly existed in the United States to render it even plausible. It seemed more the effect of jealousy than of *internal danger*. It was an attempt of a *narrow minded legislature*, worthy only of modern *Massachusetts*, to deprive others of those privileges which they themselves or their ancestors had enjoyed, which by them were once deemed an important branch of genuine freedom, and which can never be recalled without great

injustice. It was, too, as mean in its object, as it was contracted in its essence. It was pitiful, since it was principally, if not wholly directed at Mr. Gallatin, a most able statesman, and then a distinguished member of congress. The niggardly, if not vindictive spirit of Massachusetts, will appear still more visible in the amendment, when we consider that it could not, in its operation, affect any particular system of politics.

This amendment was opposed by Mr. Burr in an able speech. But here let it be remarked, that he had no risk to run. Both parties in our Legislature, with few exceptions, were hostile to the amendment, and a majority, composed of Federalists and Republicans, were known to be against it before it was discussed. While, therefore, Mr. Burr's opposition to the amendment was sure of obtaining applause from the Republicans, it was not, under all the circumstances, likely to render him peculiarly obnoxious to the federalists.

The same reason which induced Mr. Burr to distinguish himself on the subject of the amendment, restrained him on the more interesting questions of the alien and sedition laws. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, were defended, if defended at all, in a spirit of apathy, that bordered upon listlessness. 'Tis true, Mr. Burr was in the house, and voted against the federal resolution of censure. But he neither exhibited the zeal nor activity which he could command, and which the *times* and the *occasion* called for. There was a known *federal* majority in favor of censuring those manly resolutions; a circumstance,

which lessened the former ardor of Mr. Burr. Men of inferior talents were, therefore, obliged to appear as the champions of languishing, ill defended freedom. Mr. Swartwout, who come forward with two long resolutions, as substitutes for the federal resolutions of censure, appeared as the Goliath of the party. While his zeal was admired, he was viewed as *pushed* forward by Mr. Burr, who was supposed to have written his resolutions. As this timid and pusillanimous conduct emboldened the majority, it discouraged the other party. It was known that Mr. Swartwout's talents did not fit him for so prominent a station. Hence the general belief in the assembly, that his resolutions were penned by Mr. Burr, who was afraid to appear in it as the frank and intrepid defender of the cause, cast an unfriendly air of ridicule upon it. The Virginia resolutions were censured by a majority of fifty to forty three.

“ The systems, which Mr. Burr originated, while in the Legislature, for two years, were the incorporation of the Manhattan Company, a tax law, and an insolvent bill. Let these be the criteria of his disinterestedness, patriotism and abilities.”

“ The pestilential disease, which prevailed in the City of New-York, excited a general alarm and sympathy throughout the State. The Legislature had, on a late occasion, made a donation of forty-five thousand dollars, for the relief of the City. Whether the pestilence was of domestic origin, or foreign growth, it was not doubted but that a

supply of pure water would have a salutary effect. Any plan, therefore, which would supply this desideratum, was sure of meeting with a favorable reception. The incorporation of the Manhattan Company, promised this, and accordingly passed. It was perceived at the same time that it might be made a pecuniary institution; but the great benefits it promised the City, silenced all objections. It has, undoubtedly, been of great service to the citizens in its monied accommodations, and in supplying them with water. But it is still a question, whether it may not in time be made an instrument of hostility to the Republican cause. It has certainly not answered one great end of its institution, that of purifying the streets of the City. Mr. Burr's motives, for his exertions to get the company incorporated, were known to be *self-interested*. He held a great number of shares in his own name, and in the names of others, whom he got to subscribe, to divide with him the responsibility and censure of the institution; and there is no doubt but his pecuniary accommodations from the Bank, have been of essential service to his affairs."

"The tax law has been found an injurious and idle system; expensive and unequal in its assessments, and difficult and oppressive in its collections. It has undergone repeated modifications, but it still retains a principle obnoxious to men of landed estates, that of taxing woodland or *unproductive* property: and its distinction between enumerated and non-enumerated articles, was found to be so frivolous and mischievous, that it was abolished."

“ But the primary object of Mr. Burr's exertions was the enactment of a new insolvent law. This occupied his most indefatigable attention, and engaged his most animated endeavours. It passed the assembly in the winter of 1799, but was rejected in the senate. It was the extension of the Bankrupt system to all classes of people; *retrospective* in its operation, and would have enabled any person to free himself from imprisonment. It excited general alarm among trading men: and, however humane in its origin, and proper in a *prospective* operation, tended to injure the republican cause by exciting apprehension and odium. It had also a tendency to injure Mr. Burr, by producing odious applications, and creating severe animadversions, which, for the honor of human nature, it is hoped were unfounded.”

We have thus briefly and faithfully followed the footsteps of Mr. Burr, from his first political walks to the year 1800: “ when he was destined to occupy a greater space in the public eye.” In retracing his steps, we see nothing to applaud, and less to admire. His career is indeed, variegated; but with hues calculated to offend rather than relieve the contemplative eye. The picture is an unpleasant one; but the fault is in the *original*, not in the artist. Throughout there appears a winding, a convenient versatility; a species of *refined cunning*, which savours more of scholastic disingenuity, than of guileless innocence. We perceive his eye steadily fixed upon the grand object of his ambition, and his body and mind moving, as a *serpent*, heedless of the means by which he might attain it. In his conduct, there is nothing amiable, disinterested, magnani-

mous, or patriotic. No part of his political walks appears to have been "irradiated by the sun-shine of patriotism." *Selfishness* impelled him to action. *Himself* was the primary, his country the secondary object of all his pursuits.

We now proceed to consider the more important part of his political life ; that portion of it which has called forth the present examination. It is the more interesting moiety, since it is that in which we are more immediately concerned.

The year 1800, is eminently distinguished by the demolition of a tyrannic mass of national policy, and the revival of genuine freedom. At that period the indignant voice of the people shook to pieces the colossal power which threatened their destruction. Like the tower of antiquity, the frightful pile was no sooner raised, than it was prostrated to the earth. The government was placed in wiser and better hands, and the consequence is that we have tasted, and in all human probability shall continue to taste of the delicious fruits of an excellent constitution, no less excellently administered.

False notions however, have gone abroad concerning the agency of Mr. Burr in producing this change so far as the state of New-York was instrumental in bringing it about. Reports, extravagant and unfounded, have been so industriously circulated in this and the different states, that the revival of the ancient patriotism of the state of New-York, has been principally, if not wholly attributed to his supposed herculian exertions. These designing misrepresentations

have been so artfully and extensively diffused, that Mr. Burr has been viewed at a distance from the theatre of the supposed action, as a being more than mortal. He has been made an Atlas without his powers. Even in our western states, a *few individuals* have been taught to believe that to save a sinking empire it is only necessary for Mr. Burr to stretch forth his hand! gifted with this extraordinary faculty, it might be dangerous to impede, for *trifling errors*, Mr. Burr's rapid progress toward the attainment of the direction of the national energies. For it would be no bad logic to say, that, he who can so readily save, may, with equal facility, destroy a state. To be considered in this all commanding attitude, might be of infinite advantage to the Vice President; and there can be little doubt but that the *ingenious* reports of his astonishing feats and pre-eminent powers, have been disseminated by his friends with a view to promote his personal aggrandizement. We may be permitted to dedicate a moment to the consideration of the extent of Mr. Burr's services in our state election of 1800; and to unfold his *motives* for his peculiar exertions at that period. In doing this we shall cheerfully concede to him what is justly his due.

We will not pay so ill a compliment to our enlightened fellow citizens as to say, that, like clay, they may, by a skillful hand, be moulded into any form. Men who know and appreciate their rights, and who exercise their franchise with sober discretion, alike dispise flattery and coercion. And yet to suppose that a few persons, can, at pleasure, and to promote sinister views, marshal fifty thousand independent electors, is to imagine them so many feathers, amenable to

the direction of every capricious gale. Those who make such calculations, will find themselves, in the end, woefully mistaken. Violent federal measures, and an universal sense of their dangerous tendency, produced that effulgence which beamed upon us in the year 1800. The glorious events of that period, are the effect of public sensibility vibrating in unison with a high sense of public danger. It must however, be admitted that the greatest force, without proper management, will be found inefficacious. Public opinion may be *directed* to national advantage, but it cannot, were elections are, as with us, adequate and free, be turned against itself. Let us then enquire what agency Mr. Burr had in the direction of this opinion, and what were his motives for that agency.

The members of the State Legislature, when assembled at the seat of government in the capacity of *mere* citizens, may be termed the *Cabinet Council* of the state election. Each member brings with him a knowledge of the Section he represents. In such an assembly, the disposition of the state may be easily and accurately ascertained, and measures may be devised in it, dissimilar indeed in their parts, but aptly fitting to each local division. The grand arrangements for the state at an *important crisis*, originate at the seat of the state government in the manner stated. These are recommended to the citizens of the different counties who assent to the plans if they appear to them to be proper and expedient.

Mr. Burr *was not* in the State Legislature the session previous to the election of 1800. He had no hand there-

fore in the measures devised for the state at large, nor has he any claim to a share of the merit of the general success.

That he was active in the city of New-York in favour of the election of the Republican Members for that city, is admitted in its fullest extent. He certainly did, for the first time since he *turned* to the *Republican* party, display great zeal and alacrity in favour of the city ticket. He did what was the duty of every good citizen ; he exerted himself *in favour of* that party who have hitherto upheld the freedom of the Union. He attended the Electioneering meetings, and the Polls, and one night he spoke about ten minutes to an assembly of the citizens of the Sixth Ward with a view to animate them to suitable exertions. This speech, was, however, of an icy nature ; it was frigid and inanimate ; it did not so much as make one drop of blood run from the heart with more than ordinary velocity. It was the first time I ever heard the Vice-President speak, and I confess his speech did not impress on my mind high notions of his Rhetorical powers.

But was Mr. Burr singular in this respect ? Did not every Republican heart palpitate in favour of the cause ? Did not every Republican rally round the standard of freedom at that time with more than common ardour and solicitude ? How many were there in the city as bold, zealous, and indefatigable as the Vice-President ? Every Republican truly considered the contest as involving in its issue his life, liberty, and property ; and all his powers of body and mind were accordingly set in motion. We could mention ~~HUNDREDS~~ who distinguished themselves in

that glorious and memorable contest as much as the Vice-President ; and who exhibited no less zeal, interest, and *honourable* activity than himself. The fact is the cause was a common one ; each Republican considered it as emphatically his own, and an universal glow of patriotism was every where manifest. The pleasing expectation of putting down a haughty, high-handed Aristocracy, and the attainable prospect of raising Mr. JEFFERSON to the Chair of State, were sufficient to animate and did excite our citizens to the most meritorious and brilliant acts of patriotism ; the *peaceful* and *successful* exercise of the *elective franchise*.

But why was Mr. Burr so zealous in the election of 1800 ? Never before, since he deemed it *expedient* to join the Republican phalanx, did he pre-eminently distinguish himself in our elections. Sufficient has been said to evince that, previous to the *new era*, he was never known to manifest solicitude for the success of Republican Elections, *except*, when, by superlative artifice, he exerted every nerve to palm himself, as an high officer, upon the State. In 1792, when it was ascertained that *neither* the *Republicans* nor *Federalists* would support him for the office of Governor of the State, he was careless of the issue of the election. In 1795, when the Republican party supported Judge Yates in preference to himself, he remained inactive. And in 1798, when Chancellor Livingston was the Republican candidate, Mr. Burr neither harangued the citizens in their Ward assemblies, attended their general meetings, nor was he seen at the Polls. Why then this anxiety, this activity, this vehemence in 1800 ? The question is not of difficult solution. Mr. Burr was a candidate for the Vice Presidency in 1797, and he had reason to believe that he would again be held up for that office in the

year 1800. He also knew that the success of the Presidential Election materially depended on the triumph of this State. As usual, therefore, Mr. Burr was active in the Election in proportion as he conceived *himself interested* in its issue.

We succeeded in the State, and the friends of freedom and of JEFFERSON were satisfied beyond all doubt, that the Republican Presidential ticket would prevail. This was in the beginning of May, when Congress were on the eve of adjournment. It was then deemed proper to make a choice of Candidates previous to the returning of the Representatives to their respective districts. It was known that the Candidates would be fixed upon at the seat of government by the members of Congress. There was no time for a choice in any other way. Mr. Burr accordingly, repaired to Philadelphia, where a meeting of the members of both houses was called. At this meeting, Mr. Burr attended, and, after "some affected squeamishness, consented to serve as vice President."†

Without censuring the members of Congress, who made choice of Mr. Burr, and who were obliged by circumstances to nominate a vice President rather precipitately, it is proper to remark, that he was too little known in the different states, to render his nomination either judicious or acceptable. There was undoubtedly much intrigue on the part of Mr. Burr, and his personal friends, to get him nominated. Had the Republican party in the state of New-York, who best knew him, been consulted, he would

* "You all did see, that, on the Lupercal,
I thrice presented him a kingly crown;
Which he did thrice refuse. Was this ambition?"

Antony's Funeral Oration.

not, with their consent, have been nominated. It was deemed expedient by the members of Congress to select a Vice-President from among the citizens of New-York, and it was understood that Governor Clinton had declined to serve, and that the *Deafness* of Chancellor Livingston rendered him unfit to preside over a deliberative assembly. Mr. Burr therefore found it no difficult task to get nominated; the more especially as a very large majority of the members of Congress were entire strangers to his *real* character. Besides, although the Vice-Presidency, in certain casualties wisely provided for in the Constitution, is important, it was not on the whole deemed of essential consideration by those who nominated Mr. Burr. Mr. JEFFERSON was the primary object of the party; he was emphatically the “MAN *of the people* ;” their great concern was to place in his hands the executive power.

Arts too had been used by the Partizans of Mr. Burr in this city, to cause it to be believed by eminent Republican and Federal characters in the different States, that the Republican party here were at his devotion. Their feeble echos were mistaken at a distance for the voice of the State. Several newspaper essays of the import mentioned appeared in the Southern States, and many of them are believed to have been written in this city. One more distinguished than the rest appeared in the South-Carolina papers, signed a “Rice Planter,” a little anterior to the Presidential Election. This, there is good reason to believe, was written by Mr. Burr’s Son-in-law, Mr. Alston. It was an extravagant Eulogy on Mr. Burr, and states that he had *Revolutionized* New-York and Rhode-Island! “To every man acquainted with these States, such misrepresentations to deceive persons at a distance, must appear as the offspring

of the most inordinate vanity, or the most unprincipled ambition.

After the nomination of Mr. Burr was made known through the Union, the Republican party determined to adhere to it with good faith. They were disposed to yield Mr. Burr an honourable support, but at the same time to secure the Election of Mr. Jefferson at all events, by dropping, in his favour, the requisite number of votes. To do this, one State depended on another, and eventually adverse circumstances, contrary to the original intention of the Republican party, accidentally gave to Mr. Burr an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson.

It was matter of astonishment to many that Mr. Burr consented to relinquish the gains of a lucrative profession for the Vice Presidency. It is believed that the proceeds of his professional exertions were not less than ten or twelve thousand dollars per annum. This sum, with suitable œconomy, would have enabled him, in process of time, to retrieve his embarrassed affairs. Five thousand dollars per annum, the salary of the Vice President, are known to be inadequate to the payment of the interest of his debts. The salary, therefore, could have been no inducement to a commutation of his profession for that office. He had undoubtedly a higher object in view. He had fixed his basilisk eyes on the Presidency; and, in the fulness of his sanguine disposition, he entertained a hope, that, by *alle management*, he might fill that office before Mr. Jefferson, to whom it was exclusively allotted by the people.

Hence, the moment he was nominated, he put into operation a most extensive, complicated, and wicked system of intrigue, to place himself in the presidential chair. He set to work all his inventive powers, and in some instances, employed men to carry his plans into execution, who neither perceived their nature nor extent. In the furtherance of his intrigues, he spared no pains, nor was he parsimonious of expence. The *expresses* kept on foot, the men he employed, and the expences of their various agencies, must have cost him a sum little less than one year's salary of his office. Mr. Burr seems to have carried on a *secret* correspondence with the federalists from the period of his nomination.

The votes of the state of Pennsylvania,* from causes which, being of so recent a date, it is unnecessary here to repeat, were extremely doubtful. Those of South Carolina were not less precarious. Had the fifteen votes of the former state been given to the two republican candidates, their election would have been secured beyond all doubt. In this case, even if all the votes of South Carolina had been federal, Jefferson and Burr would, notwithstanding, have been elected. This was so apparent to both parties, that, in the event mentioned, the federalists would have retreated from the contest; they could have had no hopes of success. So far.

** From the absence of an item of precious information respecting his intrigues in the state of New-York, which is every moment expected, we are obliged to dispense with chronological accuracy. Our own state, in fact, presents the most prominent feature in Mr. Burr's machinations.*

as this related to the ambitious views of Mr. Burr, he saw in its full force the importance of the Pennsylvania votes. For, it was determined by many influential federalists, that, if Pennsylvania had given the whole of her votes for Jefferson and Burr, the federal electors of New-Jersey, having then no hopes of the success of their own candidates, were secretly to have given their votes for Mr. Burr, and so, in spite of republican opposition, have made him *President of the United States*! Mr. Jonathan Dayton has openly declared, since the election, that this was their plan. And, if we want demonstration of their disposition to have done so, we have only to turn to the federal votes in the House of Representatives in the presidential contest, and we shall find it. Mr. Burr, there is every reason to believe, was fully acquainted with this treasonable plot. He accordingly sent Mr. Abraham* Bishop, of Connecticut, to Lancaster, during the session of the Pennsylvania Legislature. Mr. Burr paid all the attention to this subject, which his sinister designs could excite. For he knew full well, that, if the Senate of Pennsylvania had given way to the Assembly, to the unequivocal and audible voice of that respectable state, and the whole of her votes had, in consequence, been given to the two Republican candidates, he would have been elected President of the United States.

* We do not mention this in disparagement of Mr. Bishop. When he went to Lancaster, we believe his views were honest. He no doubt thought he was serving the general cause. We have no idea that he perceived the intrigue of Mr. Burr, though it is evident he became the dupe of it.

But, as if unwilling to depend entirely on the New-Jersey project mentioned by Mr. Dayton, he made double provision for the Pennsylvania case : and it will be found upon a full view of the subject, that his scheme was an admirable one, one that would have immortalized the two federal heroes, who were to have put it into execution.

Lest some of the Federal Electors of New-Jersey should eventually refuse to vote for Mr. Burr, according to Mr. Dayton's plan ; Dr. Smith, one of the Electors of that state, and who is related to Mr. Burr by marriage, was paid particular attention to. Something was also expected from Mr. Tapping Reeve, one of the Connecticut Electors, and brother-in-law to Mr. Burr, who spent some weeks in Connecticut previous to the meeting of the Electors. And as he rarely passes away his time in idleness, it is not to be presumed that he was inactive while in that state.

After Mr. Burr returned to New-York, frequent *expresses* passed between Mr. Pierpont Edwards of Connecticut, and Mr. Burr. As the correspondence was not suffered to go through the Post-Office, it is extremely probable that it was of a highly interesting and confidential nature. Mr. Pierpont Edwards is Mr. Burr's uncle.

Mr. Burr also visited Dr. Smith, previous to the electoral votes being given in New-Jersey, who returned the compliment. During this period, the intercourse between these two gentlemen was very cordial.

In case the fifteen Pennsylvania votes had been Republican, it was confidently expected by Mr. Burr, that the two electors mentioned would have voted for him. This,

whether the electors of New-Jersey, generally, had voted for him or not, would have made him President. They might, too, afterwards, have divulged the fact with great eclat; since their solitary votes would have accomplished that, to which the combined efforts of the Federalists, in the House of Representatives, were inadequate; the election of Mr. Burr to the Presidency.

Pennsylvania, however, gave a majority of one vote only for the Republican candidates; the Federalists had, therefore, hopes of the success of Pinckney and Adams. Dr. Smith of New-Jersey, and Tapping Reeve of Connecticut, of course, voted for the Federal candidates in the hope that they might ultimately succeed.

Mr. Burr could now only expect to have an equality of votes with Mr. Jefferson, and in this casualty, which actually happened, the choice of a President must devolve, as it did, on the House of Representatives. As it was known to be the primary object of the Republican party, to place Mr. Jefferson in the Presidential Chair, it was very generally expected in New-York, that some one of the southern states would give that illustrious person a few more votes than Mr. Burr. This was deemed essential to insure the election of Mr. Jefferson, and to avoid that dishonorable contest, which subsequently took place in the House of Representatives. But if Mr. Jefferson had obtained in any of the states, one or two more votes than Mr. Burr, the desired end would have been answered. It was essential, therefore, to the success of Mr. Burr's projects, to cause it to be believed in the Southern States, that Mr. Jefferson would certainly have one or two votes in Rhode-Island, and that the

rest would be given to the Federal candidates. This being effectually done, it was in those states deemed unnecessary to withhold any votes from Mr. Burr, especially as in the end the doing so might deprive us of a Republican Vice-President. Mr. Burr, therefore, turned his attention to the State of Rhode-Island, and to the circulation of the report, that Mr. Jefferson would undoubtedly have two votes in that state.

Here he was personally active. He went to Rhode-Island, where he remained some time. He visited Gov. Fenner and other influential men, and returned with the information, which was then deemed pleasing, that Mr. Jefferson would unquestionably have *two* of the Electoral votes of that state, but that he himself should have *none*; the rest would be given to the Federal candidates.

After he returned, he dispatched a friend to Rhode-Island, who, it was industriously reported in the city of New-York, confirmed, in his letters, the agreeable intelligence brought by Mr. Burr.

This information was accordingly communicated, with much care, by some of Mr. Burr's friends to the Southern States, where it obtained general credence, and induced the Electors to give Mr. Burr an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Burr had also *agents* in those States, who actively circulated the story among the *Electors*.

A gentleman in New-York, a revolutionary officer, and a distinguished patriot, communicated the mischievous and unfounded report to the Southern States; which he, no

doubt, at the time accredited. He wrote, it is highly probable; from the best motives; though it is certain he did immense mischief. For his attachment to the cause was so generally known, and at the same time believed to be so sincere, that no man thought him capable of being guilty of a dishonorable intrigue. His name is concealed from the conviction, that his good sense and patriotism have triumphed over the artful delusions of Mr. Burr.

Mr. Burr's prospects were now auspicious. Every State on which the Republicans calculated, presented a cheering aspect, except South Carolina; and of his success here, Mr. Burr had some doubts. At the presidential election of 1797, the State of South Carolina was somewhat swayed by local considerations. Her votes were then given to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Thomas Pinckney. No apprehensions, however, were now entertained as to Mr. Jefferson, it was on all hands admitted that the Electors of South Carolina would vote for him; but it was doubtful in New-York, whether they would not also vote for Mr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the federal candidate. Had they done so, he would have been Vice-President. Mr. Burr saw the importance to *himself* of the South Carolina votes, and he accordingly directed his attention to that State.

As usual, he dispatched an agent to Columbia, the seat of the State Government. This agent was Mr. Timothy Greene, an attorney now residing in the state of New-York. Mr. Greene was suitably recommended to Mr. Wade Hampton, and other Republican Electors. He remained at

Columbia many weeks, and forwarded daily to Mr. Burr the result of his diplomatique conferences. To avoid Post-Office curiosity, his dispatches were directed under cover to Mr. John Swartwout, Marshal ; who being in the confidence of Mr. Burr, and favorable to his views, carried them to him with great fidelity as they came to hand.

Mr. Greene acknowledges that the expence of his misson, was not thrown away for nothing. It appeared to him when he first conversed with the Electors about Mr. Burr, that he was very little known in South Carolina, and that great doubts were entertained of the propriety of voting for him. How far Mr. Greene removed these doubts, we cannot say. It is however probable that his mission, though somewhat expensive, was of much service to Mr. Burr.

It is hardly necessary to mention, that the South Carolina votes were eventually given to the Republican candidates, and Mr. Burr relieved from his unpleasant situation.

Those votes completed the equality between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr, though the equality was not, till some time after, officially known. The Electors of New-York had been led to believe, that Mr. Burr would not have an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson in some of the other States. Could they have anticipated the event as it actually turned out, Mr. Burr would not have had more than ten of the twelve electoral suffrages of New-York : two of the Electors at least, would have with-holden their votes from him. But as with the rest of our citizens so with our elec-

tors, the unfounded report concerning Rhode-Island, had some weight. They, however, particularly relied on Virginia, to drop Mr. Burr a few votes. The state of New-York, exempt from local attachments derogatory to the common-weal, would, had they thought it probable that Mr. Burr would have had an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson, have taken good care, that the Union should not have been jeopardized, by the schemes of aggrandizement of a subtle and selfish individual.

We now come to consider Mr. Burr's conduct, after it was *believed*, and subsequent to its being *officially known*, that the Presidential votes were equal for the two candidates.*

The first thing in order in this new scene of deep machination; is the celebrated letter of the Vice-President to General Samuel Smith of Baltimore. When this letter first appeared, such was its exterior frankness, such its seeming sincerity; and so exactly did its contents accord with the affections of the people for that admirable man who now fills the chair of state, that it added, in the estimation of

** The information already mentioned, concerning Mr. Burr's artifices in this state, is not yet come to hand. Its nature is known; but the consent of an eminent character to its publication is wanting. It shall, however, be given to the public in some shape, when that consent shall have been obtained. Nothing has been, or shall be stated, that cannot, when necessary, be proved in a Court of Justice.*

those who were ignorant of the intricate character of the Vice-President, new laurels to his brow. It imported to them, that he would do nothing to ruffle the tranquility of the union, or traverse the ardent expectations of the people. For it was now generally believed, indeed it was pretty accurately ascertained, that the two candidates had an equal number of votes, and it was therefore in this case known, that the choice of a President would be left to the House of Representatives. It was also believed that the Federalists would, as usual, leave no effort untried to disappoint the people of him to whom they had for many years looked as the sheet anchor of their freedom. Mr. Burr's letter, therefore, was calculated, *seemingly*, to lull their apprehension, give a zest to their useful and manly triumph; and to tranquilize fears of unworthy competition, or dishonorable collusion. But nothing was ever more illusive, or profoundly machiavelian. The letter was a mantelet, under which he meant to pierce the sides of the people with advantage to himself. We shall copy it *verbatim*, that the reader may have a full view of the subject, and to preserve it as a monument of consummate perfidy.

“ *Extract of a letter from Colonel Burr, to General Smith of Baltimore, dated, New-York, December 16th, 1801.*

“ It is highly improbable that I shall have an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson: but if such should be the result, every man who knows me ought to know, that I would utterly disclaim all competition. Be assured that the federal party can entertain no wish for such an ex-

change. As to my friends, they would dishonor my views and insult my feelings, by a suspicion that I would submit to be instrumental in counteracting the wishes and the expectations of the United States. And I now constitute you my proxy to *declare these sentiments*, if the occasion shall require" (it.)

This letter, which there is every reason to believe was not voluntarily written, was not intended for publication. The words, "And I now constitute you my proxy to *declare these sentiments*, if the occasion shall require"—which are stiff and awkward—show, that General Smith, who no doubt with the best views, wisely published the letter immediately after its reception, was not expressly authorised to do so. The *declaration* of the sentiments, as stated in the letter, meant, there can be no doubt, an *oral* declaration. This too, comported better with the views of the Vice-President. *Verbal* declarations are much more easily parried than written ones. Those are a *proteous*, these, though somewhat subject to various interpretations, adhere more firmly to the writer. Beside, Mr. Burr has declared to a gentleman in *this City*, that the letter was only meant for *private use*.*

NOTE.

* The "*Washington Federalist*," of January 1st, 1801, the then Government paper of the federal party, gives Mr. Burr's letter the following interpretation.

"There was inserted in yesterday's *Federalist*, a letter from Colonel Burr, which we venture to predict can be con-

But had Mr. Burr, *really* meant to "disclaim all competition" with Mr. Jefferson, there is one mode in which he

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ceived in no other light than as an additional evidence of his fitness to fill the Presidential Chair.

"Colonel Burr therein *disclaims*, 'all competition with Mr. Jefferson.' He very modestly expresses a belief that 'he will not have an equal number of votes with' that gentleman, and diffidently supposes that 'the federal party can entertain no wish for such an exchange.' He informs his friends that 'they would dishonor his views and insult his feelings by a suspicion that he would be instrumental in counteracting the wishes of the United States.'

"Declarations thus patriotic were expected from Colonel Burr, and are *literally* such as to assure his acceptance of the important office of President, if the House of Representatives shall determine in his favor.

"We believe that Colonel Burr would of *choice* decline a competition. We believe that his feelings would be insulted by a supposition that he would be instrumental in counteracting the wishes of the United States. But if the rigorous construction of the term '*competition*' shall prevail so as to embrace even *involuntary* competition, it substantially operates a destruction of what Colonel Burr clings to as a principle—to wit, that he will never be instrumental in counteracting the wishes of the United States. For how otherwise, in the name of common sense, could Mr. Burr become instrumental in counteracting the wishes of the United States, than by refusing, after the people at large have acted upon the occasion, to acquiesce in any election which Congress, or

might have effectually done so. He ought to have said, "it is evidently the wish of the people to place Mr. Jefferson at

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rather the *United States* in Congress assembled, shall think proper to make ?

" It is proper in our judgment to adhere to long established and antient rules of construction in all cases, where there exists no apparent necessity for setting them aside. It is proper to expound the letter in question *ut magis valeat quam pereat*, and this admitted, any other exposition of the sentiments contained in Colonel Burr's letter than that here contended for, ought in justice to be overruled.

" If the voice of the people is to be resorted to, where else can it be discovered than in the vote of their Electors.

" What is the language the people of America express in this vote ? Why certainly that in their opinion Mr. Jefferson is equal to Colonel Burr, and Colonel Burr equal to Mr. Jefferson !

" They are thus presented to the United States—To the wisdom of the House of Representatives, after due deliberation both upon their positive and negative merits, is submitted the choice between them ; and with this decision however it is likely to terminate—Colonel Burr ought not consistently with the principles he has professed by his proxy General Smith, to interfere in any manner whatever."

the head of the government : and it is probable, from the general tenor of the conduct of the Federalists, that, merely to disappoint the people, they may attempt to place the administration in my hands. I should most cordially condemn so treasonable a conspiracy. I will never accept it from them. Should they by menace or by intrigue, by force or by fraud, be able to commit the executive power to my guidance, I would *instantaneously resign it to Mr. Jefferson*. I will accept no office contrary to the will of the people." Such language would have put an end to the dispute.

But it did not exactly suit the views of the Vice President to be thus explicit. He *did* intend to be President of the United States. He *did* mean "to counteract the wishes and expectations of the people," by projects the most dishonorable, the most unprincipled. He no doubt was *convinced* when he wrote the letter to General Smith, that he had as many votes as Mr. Jefferson. It was ascertained before the South Carolina votes were given, that those of Rhode-Island would be Federal: The complexion of the Electors settled that point beyond all controversy. He knew, there was good reason to believe, previous to his penning the letter to General Smith, that the South Carolina votes were or would be given to Mr. Jefferson and himself. He had *daily* information from his *agent* Mr. Timothy Greene, who resided at Columbia ; who was every day with the Electors, and who, from his intimacy with them, certainly knew how they would vote. In fact, it was clearly enough ascertained here on the very day when Mr. Burr wrote his letter, namely, the 16th December 1800, that the South Carolina votes would be given to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr.

The succeeding letter, which, on the sixteenth day of December, was issued from the press of the "American Citizen" in a *handbill*, and which was in every respect correct, proves this fact.

"The following letter was received this day from a gentleman of respectability, dated Columbia, South Carolina, December 2d, 1802.

DEAR SIR,

"Ten minutes have not elapsed since the Republican Ticket came out completely successful. The highest Republican candidate had 87, the lowest 82 votes. Federal candidates, highest 69, lowest 63—the Republican Electors the same as I mentioned in my last; all to a man *pledged* to vote for Jefferson and Burr before they were decided upon as candidates: their names and number of votes are as follow. General K. Anderson 85. John Hunter 87. Anthony Simkins 84. Wade Hampton 82. Andrew Love 82. Theodore Guillard 85. Joseph Blythe 82. Paul Hamilton 87. Seventy-six votes are a majority of both branches of the Legislature."

The letter also appeared in the "American Citizen" of December 17th. It was written by Mr. Burr's agent, Mr. Timothy Greene, and addressed to Mr. John Swartwout, Marshal for this District, to whom Mr. Greene's dispatches for Mr. Burr were directed. The Electors of South Carolina verified the predictions of the letter. Is it then not probable that Mr. Burr was satisfied in his own mind when he pen-

ned his epistle to General Smith, that he would have an equal number of votes with Mr. Jefferson? Yet he affects in it to believe that this was so highly improbable that he had not the least expectation of it. It is to this part of Mr. Burr's letter that the word *modest* has been applied.

About the time when Mr. Burr wrote the epistle, he corresponded with federalists on the subject of their placing him in the presidential chair. While he was *professing* to "disclaim all competition" with Mr. Jefferson, he was treacherously endeavouring to "disappoint the wishes and expectations of the people." He left no expedient untried to effect his election to the presidency. To obtain the chief magistracy, he *crouched*, and *fawned*, and *surrendered* himself to that party who had viewed him as a *miscreant*. He threw himself at their feet; he was heedless of the means; he was willing to do any thing, however abject, however dishonorable, however grating to the feelings of a magnanimous soul, to obtain the presidency. The following *indubitable* fact justifies these assertions, and is sufficient of itself to induce every *honest* man, of whatever party, to frown upon and avoid him as an *Arnold*!

MR. BURR, WHILE IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK, CARRIED ON A NEGOCIATION WITH THE HEADS OF THE FEDERAL PARTY AT WASHINGTON, WITH A VIEW TO HIS ELECTION AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. A PERSON WAS AUTHORISED BY THEM TO CONFER WITH HIM ON THE SUBJECT, WHO ACCORDINGLY DID SO. MR. BURR ASSENTED TO THE PROPOSITIONS OF THE NEGOCIATOR AND REFERRED HIM TO HIS CONFIDENTIAL FRIEND TO COMPLETE THE NEGOCIATION. MR. BURR STATED

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THAT AFTER THE FIRST VOTE TAKEN IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, NEW-YORK AND TENNESSEE WOULD GIVE INTO THE FEDERALISTS!! *

The result of this negotiation was immediately carried to the federal members at Washington, where Congress were then in session.

But we have authority in addition to that already mentioned for proclaiming to the world the unparalleled treachery of Mr. Burr. We are authorised to state, upon the veracity of two grave and respectable Clergymen in this City, that Mr. Burr conferred with a person deputed by the federalists to negotiate with him the terms on which they proposed to elect him President of the United States ! It is added, that Mr. Burr assented to their propositions, and entered fully into their views !

Such was the conduct of Mr. Burr when he was outwardly "disclaiming all competition," professing warm attachment to the Republican party and their cause, and expressing a hope that nothing would occur to interrupt the prospect of

* We have this astonishing fact from a most respectable source. Our authority is the first in the case. He has, however, very proper objections to his name being inserted in this publication ; but he is willing to appear in a court of justice to prove the verity of the text of this note. Conscious, therefore, that what we have before stated is true, the author proudly invites Mr. Burr to a judicial investigation of the charge exhibited. He hopes for an opportunity to substantiate the allegation to in a court of Law to the satisfaction of the Union.

Mr. Jefferson, or cross the hopes and expectations of the people! Surely the dissimulations of *Cataline* were never more profound, never more atrocious!

About this period the leading federalists openly declared themselves in favor of the Vice-President, who was instantaneously transformed into the idol of the party. The federal editors, whilom the scurrilous and vindictive enemies of the Vice-President, all at once, as if acquainted with the *negociation*, became his eulogists. The United States Gazette, which had uniformly represented Mr. Burr as Bankrupt in reputation, in fortune and in fame, as, indeed; a *common swindler*, suddenly appeared as his warmest panegyrist. All the federal papers, whether distinguished for talents or the want of them, advocated the propriety of their party voting for Mr. Burr in preference to Mr. Jefferson. Different reasons were, however, assigned for this preference. The Connecticut Courant, always *liberal* and *magnanimous*, was in favour of Mr. Burr, *because* he was of *New-England* extract! The New-York Gazette, every where admired for the wisdom it exhibits, intimated that it was probable Mr. Burr would retrace his steps and abandon his principles! And the Boston Centinel preferred Mr. Burr because the Editor thought his Character somewhat like that of *Bonaparte*!!*

* The following is an extract from the Centinel published the beginning of January, 1801.

"All the returns yet received give Messrs. Burr and Jefferson an equal number of electoral votes. We continue of the opinion that they will stand equal at the close of the Poll; and that the Federal States in Congress will give Mr. Burr their suffrages. Mr. Burr has never yet been charged with writing

It is evident that the federalists attached themselves to Mr. Burr from necessity and not from choice. Had they been competent to place at the head of Government whom they pleased, Mr. Burr would not have been the man.— Their propositions to him were of that grossly-insulting nature, that an INDEPENDENT man, one who plumed himself on the *rectitude* of his principles, who had any sense of *honour*, or correct notions of *right*, must have met them with the most sovereign contempt. They called upon him to abdicate that party to whom he had been *apparently* attached—to abandon those principles which it was *supposed* he had espoused:—nay, to be the tool of a *faction*—to surrender to them his *supposed* independence, and to be guided by them in his administration. Mr. Burr, it appears, had no scruples on any of these points. But how reflecting men could repose confidence in one who was found willing to do any thing to encompass the Presidency, is truly astonishing. They were determined, however, to resort to any expedient, rather than suffer that power to go out of their hands which they had so enormously abused. They dreaded the lofty and steady mind of Mr. Jefferson; they disliked the purity of his principles, and the philosophic simplicity of his manners. They were fearful that his administration would shower down so many blessings upon the country, that in a

libellous letters against the government of his country to foreigners; and in his politics he has been always open and undisguised. It is granted he is ambitious, but he is no hypocrite; [what a falsehood!] and though he is like Bonaparte in some respects, he possesses none of the cold hearted qualities of the Gallic Consul." Such is the turpitude and unprincipledness of the faction.

few years, the people would be effectually estranged from those wild and destructive measures which had pre-eminently distinguished preceding administrations.

Mr. Burr was now sedulous in his endeavours to ingratiate himself in favour of the leading men of the federal party. His conduct bespoke the emotions of a heart panting to do them all the good in his power. Those seemingly social mixtures of opposite qualities which have so powerful a tendency to neutralize political sentiments, were industriously sought. The company of Gen. Hamilton, who was known to be hostile to Mr. Burr, and that of the subordinate legal characters in the city who move round the great law Jupiter with implicit obedience, was assiduously courted. They all partook frequently of the hospitalities of Mr. Burr's table. These things would not have been noticed in ordinary times, but in so serious a crisis, they awakened disagreeable sensations. Hamilton's obduracy, however, remained invincible; and though the great body of the federalists deserted his colours, and rallied round Mr. Burr, he was not to be purchased by a few sumptuous dinners.

Nine states were necessary to the choice of a President; eight of the sixteen were republican, six federal, and two divided. Mr. Burr had hopes that some of the republican states, rather than hazard anarchy and bloodshed which might issue from a suspension of the executive function, and which the federal states were willing to risk, would vote for him and so put an end to the controversy by making him President. He had some *secret* reason for believing that *New-York* would be one of the states which would yield to

his views, after one or two votes in the house of representatives; and he was sanguine enough to imagine that Vermont and Tennessee would follow her example: he frequently vaunted to his friends of his great popularity in the latter state. Mr. Burr, who has vanity enough to think all things possible with him, set about the accomplishment of his project to induce a sufficient number of the republican states to vote for him. To do this effectually it was essential that he should appear entirely devoted to the republican party and in favour of the election of Mr. Jefferson, which he accordingly did.

Mr. Burr first directed his attention to the state of New-York; it was highly necessary to obtain the vote of his own state, which was represented in the federal house of representatives by six republicans and four federalists. By gaining two of the former to his side, the state would have been for him. To do this, Mr. Burr thought it the most eligible to attend the state legislature at Albany, of which he had been elected a member for the county of Orange. Under pretence of performing his duty as a legislator, he could carry on his intrigues the more effectually, and in such a way as to elude the apprehension of the public. It was essential, too, to prevent the republican members of the legislature from writing to Washington contrary to his wishes. He accordingly arrived at Albany the latter end of January and manifested the utmost solicitude for the election of Mr. Jefferson. He was of opinion that this mode of conduct would produce the belief in the legislature, that there could be no doubt of the issue, and that it would consequently prevent the repub-

lican members from representing the sense of the state to its delegation in Congress. His rare attendance, however, in the legislature, evinced that motives very different from those of performing his legislative duty called him to Albany.

But the republican members of the state legislature, were attached to *principle*, not to *men*. Mr. Jefferson was the man of the public choice. The state of New-York was bound by every principle of duty and honor, to forego local considerations. It was a matter of no consequence on what side of the Potomac, he who was to be the President lived. The only question was, does he possess the qualifications necessary to fill the highest office in the country? Mr. Jefferson, in the estimation of the Republican members of the Legislature, did. The blandishments of Mr. Burr with them were lost upon him. His influence, in comparison of that of Mr. Jefferson, was as a drop of water is to the ocean. An honorable and astonishing union of the party existed. In a Legislature of one hundred and fifty one members, Mr. Burr had not more than three or four partizans among the Republicans, and none of them *dared* to come out openly in his favor. Their small still voice was silenced by the shouts in favor of Mr. Jefferson. Our Representatives in Congress were satisfied by the expressions of the public sentiment in language not to be misunderstood; and Mr. Burr had the mortification to find on his arrival at Albany, that Mr. Jefferson was *every thing* and himself *nothing*, as it respected the office of President. Still, however, these alarming symptoms did not discourage him.

Mr. William P. Van Ness, who has always been a devoted instrument of Mr. Burr, and who was employed as his

agent in the suppression of the History of the Administration of Mr. Adams, accompanied Mr. Burr to Albany. This young gentleman, early practised in the vicious art of dissimulation, was entirely in his confidence. As the tongue is to the mind, so was Mr. Van Ness to Mr. Burr. He uttered his sentiments, he was the herald of his expectations. It was all important to the success of Mr. Burr's unprincipled projects, that our Representatives in Congress should be induced to believe, that the State of New-York was indifferent whether Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Burr was President. Accordingly this *play thing* of Mr. Burr, this Mr. Van Ness, wrote a letter to Mr. Edward Livingston at Washington, then a member of Congress for the city of New-York, stating it as the *sense* of the *Republican party*, that after *some trials* in the House of Representatives, Mr. Jefferson should be *given up* for Mr. Burr! He also wrote to a gentleman in Poughkeepsie,* requesting him to obtain a letter from an influential person in New-Jersey, to the Republican members in Congress for that State, urging a like line of conduct. These letters being written, under the eye of Mr. Burr, by a person notoriously under his direction, demonstrated the hand of the principal.† Circumstances like these induced

* Names are not mentioned, but if the facts shall be denied, they can be brought forward.

† At the same time Mr. Burr's devoted tools were not idle in the city of New-York. A young man of the name of Matthew L. Davis—so remarkable for his chattering, that it has always appeared strange that Mr. Burr should trust him with his secrets—this youth flew about the streets like a shuttle-

the Federalists to hold out with so much pertinacity against Mr. Jefferson. They could not be persuaded but that New-York would, after going through the *form* of adherence to Mr. Jefferson, declare in *substance* in favor of Mr. Burr. With this view, and under these impressions, during the awful balloting scene, they flocked round the ballot box of the state of New-York, every time the balloting was renewed, expecting to see the secession of that state from Mr. Jefferson, and thereby such confusion produced in the Republican ranks as would enable them to obtain a victory :

cock thrown from the hands of his master, declaring that after the first or second vote in the House of Representatives, the Republicans ought to give up Mr. Jefferson and join the Federalists to elect Mr. Burr. He declared it as his opinion, that any other policy would be extremely injudicious. In the true Federal tone, this wise and discreet youth observed, that the two Republicans had an equal number of votes, and that this fact shewed that the country had no choice between them ! Besides, ultimately, he said, the Republicans must give way, and a too great obstinacy would only injure the feelings of Mr. Burr, which might produce disagreeable consequences, as he would undoubtedly in the end be President !

It may be proper to apologize for having taken notice of this miserable instrument of a wretched principal. But being in the confidence of Mr. Burr, and known to circulate his opinions, it was necessary, in order to develope the nature, and, in some degree, the extent of the plot.

certain it is that the few devoted adherents of Mr. Burr, both in New-York and elsewhere, censured what they deemed an improper pertinacity in favor of Mr. Jefferson; and could not be persuaded, until it was thundered in their ears by the sound of cannon, that, their little dagon was not universally worshipped.

On the eve of the Presidential choice, in the House of Representatives, a series of essays appeared in the New-York Gazette under the signature of *Epaminondas*, addressed to the Federal members of the House of Representatives. They originally appeared in five numbers, but were afterwards published in a pamphlet, a form more convenient for circulation. They were intended to unite the Federalists in the choice of Mr. Burr. *Epaminondas* was the effusion of an inventive mind; a warm imagination: the style was somewhat elegant. Upon close inspection it will be found that it was written by a person intimately acquainted with the vice-president. It was a philippic against Mr. Jefferson; a prodigal eulogium on Mr. Burr. It was an artful appeal to the hopes and fears, the pride and avarice, the ambition and cupidity, of the Federal party. The author is not known, but it is presumed that it was written in Mr. Burr's library. A young man of the name of *Monfort*, who, when *Epaminondas* was written, lived with Mr. Burr, has frequently declared at Washington, since the elevation of Mr. Jefferson, that he wrote it under the eye of the Vice-President.*

NOTE.

* We extract the following from *Epaminondas*, that the reader may form some idea of the nature and style of the production.

With these letters, whether written by Monfort on himself, Mr. Burr was much pleased. It is known that he applied to Mr. Lang, the proprietor of the Gazette, in which they appeared, and, smiling, very cordially enquired for the

NOTE.

MORRO.

"Not one word more of the consumed time,

"Let's take the instant by the forward top—

"Turning past evils to advantages."

"It has been objected to Mr. Burr, that he possesses not the confidence of his own party. It is only to state this objection to be convinced of its futility. The diversion of a single suffrage from Mr. Burr, would have insured the Presidency to Mr. Jefferson. Had such want of confidence existed, an expedient so obvious would not have been neglected, when it was notorious that in the event of an equality of suffrages, the concurrence of a majority of the states in favor of Mr. Jefferson could not, with safety, be presumed. Admitting for a moment this alledged want of confidence, it would furnish an irresistible argument for the preference of Mr. Burr. Is it then true, as this admission would seem to imply, that the chief hopes of the subversion of the existing system are centered in Mr. Jefferson? That Mr. Burr is signalized by a disposition less hostile, by a temper more accommodating? Is the achievement incomplete unless Mr. Jefferson be the hero? Will the car of triumph be less gracefully filled by Mr. Burr? Is the victory without blood; and are the conquerors to enjoy only the lesser honors of an ovation? Are they to be deprived of the usual accompaniments of a triumph; the sight of the vanquished yoked to the victor's chariot, and gracing his entry into the Capitol? Through the goodness—

author. This might have been a *finesse* to cover the *real* writer: be this, however, as it may, it appears that Mr. Burr was highly gratified with, and felt himself obliged to *Ephaminondas*.

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of providence, or by some unhappy fatality, there seems to subsist a necessary connection between vice and weakness. Bad men are the worst preservers of their own secrets.† Unhappily for the few desperate partizans of this objection, they have, with usual indiscretion, divulged their reasons. Mr. Jefferson, say they, in the very gristle of his youth, nay, in its first conception, pronounced the doom of the constitution. Like Hannibal, he has sworn on his country's altars, that the federal union of its states shall be dissolved. With him say they, the Rubicon is past. The sacraments have been administered; the bloody morsel of execration has been swallowed; his agonies are past. What might appal the devil he now dares do. On Mr. Burr we have now no such hold; he is in the very infancy of political sinning: the infernal lake is not yet crossed, and the boat launched from shore; hardly within its portals, and holding the clue in hand, he may yet retrace his wanderings in the labyrinth of error: he may yet be redeemed without the sacrifice of another mediator."*† Pages 15, 16 and 17.

† How exactly descriptive are these lines of Mr. Burr!

* What an infamous lying scoundrel.

‡ These intimations of the presumed disposition of Mr. Burr to coalesce with the *federal* party, accord with his assent to the proposition to that import of the *federal* negotiator.

Monfort, grateful to his benefactor, Mr. Burr, with whom he had lived many months, and willing to render him all the service in his power, journeyed to Washington to observe the motions of the two contending parties in the House of Representatives. He lodged in the same hotel where Mr. Jefferson and many of his friends were, and expressed himself freely in favour of Mr. Burr for the Presidency. He introduced conversations with several of the Republican members of Congress, strenuously urging arguments why Mr. Burr should be preferred to Mr. Jefferson. This incident has about it something suspicious. It is hardly probable that a youth so dependant on Mr. Burr would conduct himself in this way without knowing it would be agreeable to him.

Mr. Dana, a member of Congress for Connecticut, corresponded with a *federal* gentleman in New-York before the struggle in the House of Representatives. We are not authorized to mention the contents of the letters. It is, however, probable, that they concerned Mr. Burr, as they were regularly laid before him as they came to hand. Delicacy towards the gentleman forbids our mentioning his name; but the fact will not be denied.

At the same time a correspondence was regularly kept up, and has been since continued, between Mr. Burr, Dayton, Harper, Henry Lee, Dexter, Bayard, Ross, and many other eminent federal characters. It is reported, and we believe with truth, that General Hamilton declared in a public company at Albany, in February 1801, that he

could prove, in a court of justice, that Mr. Burr had *intrigued* for the *presidency*. The General no doubt alluded to the *negociation* between *Mr. Burr* and the *agent* of the *Federalists* in Congress; we have reason to believe that at that time he was well acquainted with the fact. Hamilton, though of course hostile to the election of both, preferred the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to that of Mr. Burr.

In the year 1794, a tract of land belonging to Mr. *John Julius Angerstein* of London, was sold to Mr. Burr and the famous James Greenleaf, jointly, for *twenty five thousand pounds sterling*.* One half of that sum was to be paid in London on the first day of July 1796, with interest at six per cent, to be secured by bond. Twenty thousand dollars were to be paid by Mr. Burr, in a note at short date, to Mr. *Samuel Ward* of the city of New-York, agent of Mr. Angerstein. The remainder was to be paid to Angerstein in London on the first of January 1796, to be secured also by bond. It appears that the note for twenty thousand dollars was regularly paid. Previous, however, to the period when the bonds became due, Greenleaf was insolvent, and Mr. Burr refused to discharge them. Accordingly a suit was instituted against him, and judgment obtained in the supreme court of this State in favor of Angerstein. From this judgment Mr. Burr appealed to the court of Chancery. In the mean time, however, Burr and Greenleaf sold the tract of land to Mr. John Browne of Providence, Rhode-Island, to an immense profit and pocketed the cash.

* Or one hundred eleven thousand, one hundred and ten dollars.

The *principal* ground assumed by Mr. Burr in the bill of complaint preferred by him to the Court of Chancery, was, that *John Julius Angerstein*, from whom he and Greenleaf purchased the land, was an *alien* at the period when the conveyance was made, and that by consequence having no legal title to the land, he had no legal claim on Mr. Burr for the unpaid part of the purchase money!!! Mr. Burr *knew* when he purchased the tract of land, that Angerstein was a subject of the *King of England*, and he observed to his agent at the time, that his *alienism* did not materially embarrass the title. In *this* Mr. Burr was correct. For it is customary, on petition, for the State Legislature to confirm alien titles. The plea, therefore, was an extraordinary one; how much it savoured of *downright swindling* the reader will determine. At any rate he will admit, that, if Angerstein's title to the land were invalid in law, Mr. Burr *knew it* when he made the purchase; and, after having made it, to avail himself of his *alienism*, manifested a *design* to embrace a legal advantage to wrest his property from him!

While the cause was depending in chancery, Mr. John Browne of Rhode-Island, who had purchased the land from Burr and Greenleaf, petitioned the Legislature of New-York to confirm his title to it. Burr, however, had sufficient address to cause a decision upon the petition to be deferred until the following session. This was of immense advantage to him.

Meantime General Hamilton, counsel for Angerstein,*

* *Difference of political sentiment ought not to prevent us from stating with great sincerity, that through every stage of*

dispairing of success, and weary of procrastination, compromised the matter with Mr. Burr, who gave his *note* for a *portion* of the amount of the bonds. The amount of the note is not exactly known, but it is believed to be a *mere trifle*.

After the matter was thus (on the part of Mr. Burr) most disgracefully settled, the state legislature confirmed Mr. Browne's title to the land, which was *de facto* confirming the title of Angerstein. Indeed his *alienism* was not a *real*, it was only a *shamefully pretended* obstacle.

The sad tale of this enormous injustice reached Washington at the Presidential Election. † A partial investigation of the fact there took place, but by *which party* we cannot imperatively say. It is, however, to be presumed, that the enquiry was made by the *federalists*: it should seem that even *they* questioned the propriety of voting for Mr. Burr for the Presidency until their doubts respecting that act of transcendent iniquity were removed.

THOMAS SMITH, of New-York, a *Clerk in Chancery*, ‡ for—
this unparalleled case, Mr. Hamilton behaved with great justice to his client and honour to himself. This is no more than a tribute justly due to professional worth and integrity.

† *It is not our intention to travel out of the pale of Mr. Burr's political character. Were we inclined to give a delineation of his private transactions, we could exhibit a scene that would "harrow up the soul." His connection with Angerstein is mentioned only to introduce what follows.*

‡ *Smith is one of the little band. He is, however, like the rest, impotent; and more to be pitied than feared.*

warded to Washington papers, it is believed, of a demi-official form respecting the Chancery suit of Angerstein and Burr. The precise shape of these papers, however, is not *known*. It is probable, nevertheless, that they were stated by Smith to be transcripts of the Chancery documents in that case. And yet had they been *precise* exemplifications they must have consigned Mr. Burr to the lowest degree of oblivious degradation, in the eyes of every *upright* man. On this account we are inclined to think that the clerk must have done *more* than his duty. There hang about the transaction, however, so many well founded doubts, so many surmises of a nature not very reputable to the clerk, that the *quere one*, Smith, would do well to explain the part he acted in that *odious* transaction. We cannot compel Smith to inform us who called upon him for those papers; to whom they were sent; their nature, and what object was intended to be accomplished by their transmission. But the public are so immediately and greatly interested in that alarming and dangerous intrigue; that dark and dishonorable plot, that they have a right to call upon, and we now *ask* him, to explain the act in question. There *may* have been in the transaction, no *violation* of *official* duty; it *must*, however, have proceeded from motives hostile to freedom; adverse to Mr. Jefferson.

But we wish to make it appear manifestly probable, that Smith *did not* send the papers to the Republicans in Congress; but that they were communicated to gratify *federal* curiosity, to remove *federal* doubts.

It is apparent, that, after the votes were known to be equal, and the choice had consequently devolved on the House of Representatives, the *Republican* members of Congress had no occasion for the Chancery transcripts. For even then, with one or two *secret* exceptions, no idea was entertained by *them* of making Mr. Burr President. There was not the least aberration on their part from the original design of electing him to the *Vice-Presidency*. His election to that office at all events was effected. At this ulterior stage, therefore, the Republicans had no choice as to that point; no new topic for their consideration had occurred: no doubts of consequence could have arisen in *their* minds which called for Smith's documents to chase them away. Had they thought of raising Mr. Burr to the Presidency; and, hearing of the very singular case of Angerstein, deemed it proper, for the honor of the Government and the safety of the people, to sift it until they could, if possible, be satisfied of the innocence of Mr. Burr, we might perceive some reason for their calling for Smith's papers and seal. But not a thought of this odious kind occupied the minds of the *Republicans*. No new casualty, therefore, for their consideration had arisen; and, having no perceivable *cause* to call, the inference is irresistible that they *did not* ask, for the papers.

On the other hand the Federalists had great reason to solicit them. The mere act of opposing the will of the nation in the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, was of itself so daring and flagitious, that it required indeed iron consciences and brazen fronts to attempt it. But when they came to hear of Burr's transactions with Angerstein,

though a *solitary* case, the danger became two-fold, and the responsibility of electing such a man to the Presidency, proportionably augmented. They had great reason, therefore, to call on Smith for the documents: desperate as they were, they could hardly vote for Mr. Burr with such a fact staring them in the face.

Nevertheless, facts *may* overturn all that has been said on *this* subject, but until Mr. Smith shall have laid them before the public; until the sable cloud which hangs over the transaction shall have been cleared away, it will hardly be said that the above reasoning is essentially defective, or that the conclusion drawn from it is materially incorrect.

We leave Smith with "all his imperfections on his head," to clear himself from the suspicion which the acts necessarily excites, in the best manner he can: and we sincerely wish him success!

It is not necessary to dwell on the struggle which took place in the house of Representatives in choosing the President. The alarming impressions it made on every mind, can hardly be thus early effaced. We leave it, therefore, to some future historian to draw the picture. The issue is known.

Having accompanied Mr. Burr to the Vice-Presidential chair, it may be proper to journey with him to the present period. His company, though not very agreeable, may be useful.

The first thing that attracts attention is an incident which occurred at Baltimore as the Vice-President passed

through that city to take his seat in the Senate. Several congratulatory addresses had been presented to Mr. Jefferson on his elevation to the Presidency. The hearts of our fellow citizens were warm, and congenial effusions spontaneously issued from them. It was not to be expected that Mr. Jefferson would so far forget that he was a *man* ; that he would be guilty of so palpable a violation of the laws of decorum, as not to answer the friendly and unaffected addresses which were daily presented to him by a pleased people. He accordingly answered them : it was meet to do so. Mr. Burr, however, was pleased to take another course. *He* would not be so unlike a *Republican* as to answer addresses. There was some art in this : it *might* catch a few easy gulls, and give him a transient popularity not due to his motives. At any rate he was pursuing a policy at variance with that of Mr. Jefferson ; and it suited his views to try opposite experiments.

The following relation of this incident taken from the "Democratic Republican," printed at Baltimore, will sufficiently elucidate Mr. Burr's motives. It needs no comment.

" Much has been written and printed in the U. S. about Party ; and to be a Party-man with the Opposers of the present Administration, provided he be of *their* Party, is, with them, to be virtuous and honorable. Democratic Republicanism, however, holds no such preposterous idea in the catalogue of its tenets. The virtuous Democrat, considered in his national capacity, is or ought to be a cor-

rect and upright man, with pure and patriotic views, tending to the benefit of his Country : No ambitious considerations of his own should obtrude on the devotion of his labors and abilities to the general welfare. Such a man, the Nation expected to find in Mr. *Jefferson* ; and in him they have not been disappointed.

“ Mr. *Burr*, likewise, it was expected, would, when brought into full view, prove a rare jewel in the girdle of our Union : Rumors, however, have gone forth, rendering doubtful the character of Mr. Burr. Our intentions relating to this affair have already been stated, and we should not now here have introduced the subject again thus early, were it not that we wish to rescue from oblivion a characteristic circumstance concerning the Vice-president, which occurred in this City at the time of his journey towards Washington to take upon him the Vice-presidentship. On this occasion he stopped at Mr. Evans’s Tavern, where a number of respectable Democrats waited upon him, and concluded to address him. The Address was drawn out, and shown to the Vice-president, who observed, that he was *inimical* to Addresses in general ; but if such were the disposition of the Gentlemen present, he had no particular objection thereto, *provided*, a certain part was stricken out, which was, where they gave him praise for his *declension of a competition with Mr. Jefferson for the Presidency*. The Democrats, however, as we understand, refused to strike out the passage ; and stated, as their reason, that that very act of Mr. Burr was *the whole burden of their song* ; and that, should this be left out, they had *nothing to say to the Vice-president*. This was

also communicated to Mr. Burr, who *taking the hint*, in returning his verbal Answer, declared, "that it was far from him to put himself in opposition to that great and good man Thomas Jefferson."

"We make no further Comment at present, than merely to observe, with Dr. Franklin, that *a Feather will sometimes show* how the wind blows."

No man was, *seemingly*, more zealous for the removal of *federalists* from office under the general and state governments than Mr. Burr. In this, though his motives were improper, he was not singular. *The united voice of the Republican party*, of more than three fourths of the citizens, scarcely one of whom was permitted to hold an office under the administration of *John Adams*, demanded their removal. Mr. Burr, however, in ardently recommending this just and universal ejection from office, had various objects in view. And finding that the people were solicitous on this subject, he took care to inform *Republicans* that he was not less so than themselves. In doing this it is by no means believed that Mr. Burr was guided either by sound principles or pure views. On the contrary, it is *known*, so far as *action* demonstrates intention, that his *outward* advocacy of removals from office, was *selfish* and *insidious*. He had two objects to accomplish by it--On the one hand, especially in New-York, he wished to get his *devoted Creatures* into office; and in this he was pretty successful. On the other hand, no matter however unjust, he knew that it was more than probable that the federalists would endeavour to throw great and undeserved odium on the executive for making removals, which might excite

discontents in some sort calculated to render his administration unpopular. And it will readily be believed, that Mr. Burr was of opinion that every step which would make the administration unpopular would yield proportionate advantages to himself. Besides, the *fictitious* zeal which he manifested for removals, was admirably calculated to cover his perfidious correspondence with federalists.

At Washington, Mr. Burr very strongly recommended removals from office ; and he went so far as to make out a list of names as substitutes for those whose removal he recommended. This list contained the names, principally, of the present *little band*. It is known that he urged in particular, the removal of *Col. Giles* from the office of *Marshal*, and recommended his *friend* Swartwout as his successor. This could only be viewed as a remuneration for the unlimited devotion of Swartwout to the views of the Vice President. In thus recommending removals, had his views been *patriotic*, we see nothing to condemn, but much to admire.

But Mr. Burr has been equally active and zealous in endeavouring to make the *federalists* believe, that he had *no hand directly or indirectly* with the removals. Nay, there is reason to believe that he has gone so far, as to reprobate to *them* the removals that have been made as improper if not odious and oppressive. He has spoken of them as if he were unfriendly to a single removal. Aquila Giles, the Ex-Marshal, who in all probability was removed principally in consequence of Mr. Burr's recommendation, has lately declared *openly*, to several persons, that a *friend of Mr. Burr* had been to, and satisfied him, that the *Vice*

*President had nothing to do mediately or immediately with his removal !** And Mr. Giles was so firmly persuaded of the friendliness and congeniality of Mr. Burr, that he at the same time declared he would contribute his interest and exertions to support Mr. Burr's election to the Presidency. So much for *this part* of his consummate duplicity.†

* We confidently appeal to Col. Giles for the truth of this statement.

† The writer of the attack on the President, signed "Lucius Junius Brutus," has the following remarks in a note, page 48: Speaking of the *Manhattan Bank*, he says,

"All the directors were named by MR. BURR, and DANIEL LUDLOW being a *monied* man, was one; he was then elected President. The appointment of MR. LUDLOW in the place of MR. WATSON, of MR. SWARTWOUT in the place of COL. GILES, of MR. LIVINGSTON in the place of MR. HARRISON, and of MR. GEISTON in the place of MR. SANDS, are all to be traced to the same hand. - In vain may MR. BURR openly assert that he knows nothing of these removals, or make it a point to *insinuate* that he disapproves of the whole system: he may rely upon it that the federalists are more and more aware of the intricacy of his character, and more and more apprehensive of his subtle machinations."

These remarks were evidently written by one accustomed to move in the higher political circles, and well acquainted with *interior* movements. The pamphlet has been attributed to Gen. Hamilton; it is, however, probable, that it was submitted to him for inspection before publication. It appears from the animadversions, that MR. BURR had, before the Pamphlet was issued to the world, which was in August 1801, *insinuated* to the federalists that he *disapproved* of the *removals* that had been made! This corroborates the observations of COL. GILES, that "a friend of MR. BURR had satisfied him that he had no agency in his re-

Mr. Burr was solicitous for the appointment of one Matthew L. Davis—a very humble creature of his—to fill the naval office in the custom-house of New-York. Two of the principal offices in the city were now filled by men devoted to his views; and though Davis had more than the common levity and indiscretion of youth, miserable in talents, without solidity of thought, and the mere buffoon of the city, Mr. Burr left no expedient untried to obtain the office for him. Mr. Burr's efforts to effect the removal of some of the officers in the city of New-York, and the appointment of his crea-

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removal!" Well might LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS say that the character of Mr. BURR was *intricate*!

About the time when LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS was written, to wit, in June or July 1801, Mr. Lang had a paragraph in his Gazette, stating that Mr. Burr, a few days before, dined at a private house with many federal characters in this city, and had declared to the company, that *unless the respectable part of the federalists would support the present administration it could not stand*! It went so far as to insinuate in pretty plain terms, that Mr. Burr seemed to be of opinion that there was not sufficient *talent and respectability* in the Republican party, to support a *truly dignified administration*. We have not the paragraph by us; its contents, however, are well remembered, and we believe correctly stated. But if not, Mr. BURR, or Mr. LANG, or some other of his friends, will doubtless set us right.

In all this there appears a coincidence. Nevertheless, it may be said that Mr. LANG made a *false statement*. And this, from the known propensity of the Editor to misrepresentation, may appear *plausible*. But we assert that there is the *greatest* reason to believe that the *substance* of the paragraph was strictly correct. *It is known that Mr. Burr was unwilling to have the fact examined!*

tures to succeed them, had hitherto been crowned with so much success, that he deemed it only necessary to demand from the executive removals and appointments to effect both. Davis's appointment, which was expected in June, 1801, did not arrive. Mr. Burr began to suspect that the executive was disgusted with his importunities. This, however, did not cause him to relax in exertion in favour of his *little* friend. Finding that epistolary correspondence was inefficacious, he dispatched to Washington his trusty and well-beloved *agent*, Mr. William P. Van Ness, to watch the movements of the executive, spy out the nakedness of the land, and report on the probability of eventual success. The dispatches of *this able minister*, however, were unfavourable. It was thought that Chancellor Livingston, who was then at Washington, did not think quite so well of Davis as Mr. Burr. It was also supposed, that the executive had not the utmost confidence in Mr. Burr's recommendations, and it was suggested that a few lines from Gov. Clinton in favour of Davis, would tend to insure the success of his application. But the Governor, to whom application was made, begged to be excused from recommending Davis!

The Minister, having completed his mission, returned to New-York, and cast a gloom over Mr. Burr and his *little expectant*. It was believed that Davis would not obtain the appointment. It was supposed that the office was intended for General Bailey, of Dutchess. Deep mortification ensued, and, we rather think, a little revenge was contemplated.

Soon after Mr. James Linn, of New-Jersey, was appointed

to the office of Supervisor of the District of New-Jersey.* This gave great offence to Mr. Burr, to Davis, and the rest of the male-contents. They imagined they saw in it the completion of a system which alone kept Mr. Burr from the Presidency. It was openly insinuated by Davis that the election of Mr. Jefferson was the result of a *compromise*, which he stated to be of the following nature.

Mr. Linn had alternately voted with the Federalists and Republicans. General Bailey voted against the Republican party in the House of Representatives on the question for making appropriation to carry into effect the British treaty. This, he believed, was the only time he had abandoned the Republicans. It was, however, enough to show that he was not always to be relied on. Mr. Edward Livingston, too, was suspected ; but on what account was not stated. Apprehensive, said Davis, that the firmness of these men would yield to the stubbornness of the federalists, a proposition was made to them by a *confidential friend of Mr. Jefferson*, to this effect : “ *if you, Mr. Linn, will continue to vote for Mr. Jefferson, you shall be appointed Supervisor of the District of New-Jersey ; if you, Mr. Livingston, will do the same, you shall be District Attorney of New-York ; and if you, General Bailey, will also continue to vote for Mr. Jefferson you shall be Naval officer of the Custom-House of New-York.*” Accordingly, said the *little disappointed applicant*, Mr. Livingston has been appointed, and so has Mr. Linn ; and the Naval office, it appears, is reserved

* *We believe we are correct as to time ; we are certain we are as to facts. But we have no documents to refer to respecting dates.*

for General Bailey. But, why, Mr. Davis, is not Mr. Bailey appointed? Because I AM strongly recommended by Mr. BURR for that office, and Mr. Jefferson is *afraid of offending him* ! These remarks came *originally from Mr. BURR* : *Davis was only the open and licenced retailer of them.* *

This was the first overt opposition of Mr. Burr and his little band to the measures of the administration. †

* *Those who will take the trouble to read Mr. Bayard's speech on the abolition of the Judiciary Law, will find similar remarks in it : Indeed almost word for word the same. Whether Mr. Burr communicated these unfounded notions to Mr. Bayard or not, we cannot say.*

† *Before Mr. Van Ness went to Washington, Davis had great hopes of obtaining the Naval-Office : indeed he fancied he was counting the six or seven thousand dollars, the annual proceeds of it. In imagination, he had made all his arrangements, taken his seat in the Custom-House, dismissed the Clerks, strutted like an officer, spoken like an officer, and placed his pen in his "fine powdered hair," in imitation of a great man. Procrastination, however, chased away the spectres of his juvenile mind, and he had the mortification to find that all his "castles were built in the air."*

He was determined, however, not to be appalled by trifles. Following the example of his prototype, he resolved to persevere to the end. Sensible that many things are gained by impudence, which a modest man would never think of, his hopes of success were commensurate with his brazenness. He concluded to make personal application for the office, and to have a denial, if one must be had, from the lips of Mr. Jefferson.

Accordingly, he danced attendance on every person from whom he thought a letter to Mr. Jefferson would be of service to him.

Language is inadequate to the expression of the feelings which will be experienced by every enlightened man, who shall read this simple narration of an atrocious calumny, invented to glut the rage of an inordinately ambitious and disappointed faction. It will hardly be imagined that the three gentlemen of whom the story is told, were so unpatriotic as to stand in need of a bribe to stimulate them to the performance of their duty, or so *criminally mean* as to accept one. The story is too incredible to gain belief. And the uniform tenor of the life of that exalted man who administers the

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self. Among others he applied to Mr. DeWitt Clinton, who for good reasons, refused to write in his favour; and ever since his womanish tongue has never ceased to clack against him.

Thus "accoutred," he began his journey to Washington. On his arrival there he found that Mr. Jefferson had retired to his seat at Monticello. The ardency of the youth, however, was not abated by the length and ruggedness of the roads. Nor did the coolness of the Secretary of the Treasury retard his steps. He was bent on seeing the President. Accordingly, he hired a carriage and a footman, and, in the style of a Nabob, rode to Monticello in quest of an office! At Monticello he was received, as every stranger is, with the characteristic hospitality of the state, and the ease and frankness of the venerable sage who inhabits the charming mansion. After three days solicitation, Davis bid adieu to the executive, despairing of the attainment of his wishes. In this unmanly expedition he expended about two hundred dollars, returned home giving up all hopes of removing the Clerks, and no doubt convinced that Mr. Burr would make a much better President than Mr. Jefferson! Such was the Quixotic expedition of our little expectant! Davis has ever since been an open opponent of the administration.

government, is sufficient to shield him from the shafts of the slander. He was never known to be guilty of a dishonourable intrigue; much less of that low and pitiful act which the calumny by implication imputes to him.

The fabrication, however, tends to shew that Mr. Burr and his *little band* had some hopes (whether ill founded or not) of the defection of the three gentlemen, and that in the end they were woefully disappointed.

The next act of the executive which aroused the malevolence of Mr. Burr and his few adherents, was the appointment of Mr. Barnes to the office of district judge of Rhode-Island. This case is so well known that it cannot be necessary to detail all the circumstances which attended the appointment.

Mr. Ray Greene was, while a senator of the United States, appointed by John Adams, in the expiring agonies of his administration, and evidently in hostility to the constitution, District Judge of Rhode-Island. Such, however, was the precipitancy with which Mr. Adams endeavoured to organize a phalanx of judges to oppose the administration of his successor, that being written at *mid-night*, when all nature is inclined to sleep, his commission was made out for a *circuit* instead of a *district* Judge. It was accordingly returned to the proper department for correction; but Mr. Jefferson, sensible that the appointment was unconstitutional, and therefore void; that no appointment of *right* had been made, nominated Mr. Barnes in his place, and commissioned him during the recess of Congress. It appears that the political sentiments of Mr. Barnes were opposed to those of the exe-

cutive. Whether this was known to Mr. Jefferson or not, we cannot determine; but we believe it was not. His great solicitude and care to obtain correct information of the fitness of candidates, ought to induce the belief that it was not; and this is our opinion.

The appointment however, furnished a plausible pretext for complaint, which was embraced with great zeal and keenness. It was represented as so odious in the sight of the citizens of Rhode-Island, as, in their opinion, so much at war with what they had expected from the administration of Mr. Jefferson, that his wonted popularity was no more in that state. Nay, it was stated, upon the authority of letters said to have been received from influential men, that Mr. Jefferson occupied so small a space in the estimation of the citizens of Rhode-Island, that were he a candidate for the Presidency at that moment, not one voice would be raised in his favour. This fancied estrangement from the executive, excited many sweet sensations. The clamour was loud; and though MR. BURR was the *source* of it, he had forgotten that, *knowingly* and with his *eyes open*, he prevailed upon the then Secretary of the Navy, General S. Smith, to appoint DANIEL LUDLOW, of the City of New-York, who bore arms against the revolution, to the office of Navy Agent for this District!

This exhibits the readiness with which Mr. Burr and his adherents availed themselves of "trifles light as air" to oppose and misrepresent the acts of the executive.

From the General Government, we turn our attention to the state of New-York.

It will be readily believed that Mr. Burr was displeased with those patriots in his own state who had opposed his ambitious projects. Smarting under the lash of disappointment, his resentments were alive; his pride wounded. In the fulness of his chagrin he meditated revenge: he sought to glut it. By him all were considered enemies who had hindered his election to the Presidency.

In April 1801, the election for Governor was to occur. The chief magistracy had been occupied six years by a *federalist*. It was essential to make choice of a candidate of the most weight and influence, as such an one would be the most likely to succeed. And this success was necessary to confirm the recent republican triumph, and effectually discourage the federal party. It was conceived that Governor Clinton was the most likely person to answer all these expectations. The eyes of the whole state were turned towards him.

Accordingly, the Legislature in their November session of 1800, made choice of the Governor. This judicious selection gave general satisfaction. Mr. Burr, however, who was then a member of the Legislature, was displeased with it. On his way from Albany to New-York he censured the measure in strong terms. He called on Chancellor Livingston, and endeavoured to excite in him resentment, by discolouring the motives and objects of the nomination. Could he have prevailed on the Chancellor to permit himself to be held up as a candidate on the federal side in opposition to the Governor, he would have attained a valuable object in effectually putting aside a formidable rival! It was believed that Mr.

Burr was offended because he was not himself nominated for the governorship! It was known that, as there was no constitutional incompatibility, he would have gladly held at once both that office and the Vice-Presidency, in case he failed in his endeavors to obtain by intrigue the first office in the general government.

So many disappointments following in quick succession to baffle his ambitious schemes, Mr. Burr was determined to satiate in some degree his thirst for revenge.

The Legislature of this State had passed an act to call a convention "for the purpose of considering the parts of the Constitution of the State, respecting the number of Senators and members of Assembly, and with power to *reduce* and *limit* the number of them as the Convention might deem proper, and also for the purpose of considering and determining the *true construction* of the 23d article of the Constitution, relative to the right of nomination to office" in the Council of Appointment. The *Republican* members of the Council had claimed a co-ordinate right with Governor Jay to nominate to office, which he opposed; in consequence of which, appointments were suspended until a construction to the article was given by the Convention.

It was falsely reported that General Hamilton was to represent Staten-Island in the Convention, and by some persons it was thought necessary that Mr. Burr should be there to oppose him. Mr. Burr never was very popular

in the city of New-York, and was still less so in the interior parts of the State. The county of Orange, in which the *Federalists* rarely oppose the *Republicans*, had been *once* prevailed upon to take up Mr. Burr as one of its Representatives in the Assembly. Application was again made to the county to elect him a member of the Convention. He was accordingly elected.* This interference of the *Vice-President*, a high *federal* officer, with the internal concerns of the *State*, was viewed as improper if not impertinent. He had, however, selfish motives to gratify, and he cared little about the means, if he could accomplish the end.

Calculating with certainty on being elected in the county of Orange, Mr. Burr turned his attention to selecting *himself* such candidates to represent the city of New-York in the Convention, as would best suit the purposes he had in view. He cultivated with great assiduity the friendship of those whom he deemed most influential in the different wards of the city. Exercising an amiable superintending care over the *poor ignorant multitude*, he made out a list of the names of those citizens whom he *wished* to transact the public business in the Convention, and carefully called them into his house one by one to beg their assent to be considered as candidates! What a good patriot! In this manner he vainly imagined he could secure the nomination of men devoted to his views. Never were our citizens more grossly insulted,

* It is believed that Mr. Burr is now so unpopular in that independent and virtuous county, that he could not get ten votes in it.

or impudence carried to a higher pitch ! But they were not to be deluded by this *little artful* attempt to invade their freedom.

Mr. Burr was solicitous to prevent the nomination of George Clinton, junior, a nephew of governor Clinton. Many of our citizens had expressed themselves in favour of his being a candidate for the convention. It was, however, a main object with Mr. Burr to prevent his nomination. His *agents* were made acquainted with his wishes, and were accordingly on the alert to complete them. The subtlest arts of the Burritian school were employed to put down the promising young man, and to alienate public opinion from him. The noisy instruments of the closet intriguer were clamorous in every ward. Mr. Burr dreaded the name of Clinton. He was conscious that the family were opposed to his injurious schemes. And he knew that their uniform adherence to republican principles had justly given them a weight with the public that might be employed to his disadvantage. All his arts, however, were unavailing ; Mr. Clinton was elected, and Mr. Burr had the mortification of witnessing that not *one* of his creatures were returned to the Convention for the City of New-York *but* William P. Van Ness !

The station which Mr. Burr filled in the General Government was the passport to the chair of the Convention. An extreme diminution of the number of the State Senators was his favorite point. From the reduction of the number of the Assembly he had nothing to hope ; he therefore felt no concern about it. From that of the Senate he had much, and he therefore paid suitable attention to it.

The Senate had for many years been a perfect aristocracy. It was generally so odious that many considerate members of the convention were disposed to get rid of it altogether. Some less ardent spirits thought that two objects might be accomplished by reducing the number of its members to a very few. First, a diminution of expence proportionate to the reduction of the number. Second, it was conceived that the reduction of the number would lessen the aristocracy. Mr. Burr eagerly availed himself of these various opinions; and the forty-three members of which the Senate was composed, he thought of reducing to fifteen or eighteen, but eventually fixed on *twenty-four*.

Finding that the *Senate* was unpopular, he zealously inculcated the opinion in *private* that, in the ratio that its numbers should be reduced, the aristocracy would be lessened; which, though an acceptable, was a most erroneous doctrine. For, if a body of men, with given powers, be Aristocratic when composed of forty-three, they will be much more so, with the same powers, when reduced to twenty-four. A small number are more liable to corruption, more inclined to intrigue, and much more easily managed than a large one. The opinion, therefore, disseminated by Mr. Burr, though specious, was exceedingly erroneous. It was, however, a gilded bait and caught in the Convention many a gull.

Mr. Van Ness, as usual, was the pliant instrument of Mr. Burr in the Convention. He brought forward his resolutions; he obeyed his nod. He moved that the forty-three Senators should be reduced to twenty-four,* which was carried. With this decision Mr. Burr was pleased.

* See *Journal of the Convention*, page 30.

Subsequent explanations, however, took place and many of the members who had voted for twenty-four, were convinced that they had been deceived by specious arguments.

Accordingly, the following day Mr. George Clinton, jun. moved to expunge from the resolution the words "twenty-four," and insert in their stead "thirty-two"* which, however the Vice-President spoke in the committee of the whole with vehemence and acrimony against it, was carried fifty to forty-six. It is remarkable that on this question not *one* of the representatives of the *City of New-York* voted with the Vice President *but* Mr. Van Ness!

In his endeavours to establish this powerful and dangerous aristocracy, Mr. Burr as usual had an eye only to himself. He at that time (October 1801) entertained no hopes of obtaining from the general government further appointments of his creatures to office. He was anxious to found an influence in this state that would give him a corresponding power out of it. He was sensible of the importance of this vast link in the federal chain: And he knew that the present council of appointment, but especially Messrs. De Witt Clinton and Ambrose Spencer, were aware of his machinations and decidedly opposed to them. His contemplated reduction of the Senate would have prevented the re-election of Mr. De Witt Clinton for some years, which he clearly foresaw. And he confidently calculated on managing *his* Senate—insignificant in number, but formidable in power—so as to form a council of appointment from it, more favourably inclined to aid the completion, because less sensible, of

* See *Journal of the Convention*, page 31.

his destructive schemes. This, had he succeeded in the reduction, in all probability he might have effected.

Such were the motives of Mr. Burr, for the zeal he manifested to reduce the Senate to fifteen or eighteen, and for *defending* with so much *bitterness* and *asperity* in the convention, the number *twenty-four*. But he was defeated. And to the honour of the city representation, it cannot be too often reiterated, that they *all* voted *against him, except his valet de chambre* William P. Van Ness. The number agreed upon was thirty-two.

The republican party, under federal denomination in the state of New-York, were excluded from all offices. When in their turn they obtained ascendancy, it was natural to expect that they would require at least their *full proportion* of office. Accordingly numbers applied to the Council of Appointment; some with great and others with small merit, and many must of course be disappointed, inasmuch as there were more applicants than offices. In the city of New-York, the law limits the number of auctioneers to *twenty-four*; more therefore than that number, could not be appointed. And yet it is confidently asserted that there were more than *two hundred applicants*. Embarrassment then was multiplied upon embarrassment; for with every disposition to reward merit, and afford satisfaction, it was impossible not to disappoint many worthy men. And it required more than human knowledge not to make mistakes, among so many applicants and with so many offices to fill. Mr. Burr and his partizans seized every opportunity to throw odium on the council. Persons were encouraged and prompted by them to apply for office, whom they had every reason to

believe could not be gratified. But as many of the disappointed office-hunters rallied round the standard of Mr. Burr, his *little band* increased almost in proportion as their wishes remained ungratified by the council. There are, however, many very honourable exceptions to the remark.

Mr. Burr ought to have been satisfied with the appointment of his step-son to one of the best offices in the gift of the council; we mean the Recorder of the city of New-York, and of others of his particular friends. But no principle of gratitude could restrain him. Many applicants were disappointed, many complained; and Mr. Burr and his tools took care to fan the flame. As it respects the council of appointment in the state, this conduct on their part was not singular. The chagrin of those who had been disappointed in their applications to the general government, was carefully heightened. Many honourable and upright men, however, seeing the difficulties which surrounded the administration, although disappointed, adhered to their principles with fidelity.

The following mode was adopted by Mr. Burr and his partizans.

When they met with a disappointed applicant who had been in the army, it was observed with much sympathy and in melancholy strains that "old soldiers were overlooked by the council!" When with a coxcomb, the council of appointment were really humiliating. And so their remarks were exactly suited to the circumstances of every disappointed applicant they met with or sought out.

Many of these were drawn under the wings of Mr. Burr with brooding care. They looked up to him as their protector, and he treated them with parental affection. His influence with the collector of the customs was great. And with a sweet disposition to serve all the *discontented*, Mr. Burr very cordially recommended them to him for a place ! Whether successful or not in their applications to the Collector, the sympathising recommendations effectually secured to him their affections. The Custom-House became the "hospital" of all the "incurables."

Such are the men who compose the *little band*, and who with few exceptions, it may be truly affirmed, are disappointed office-seekers—insignificant in number—wretched in talents—worse in principle—and most of them destitute of all the attributes of respectability. They associate for *revenge* ; and to disgrace, if possible, the republican party to whom they *formerly belonged*.

The official conduct of Mr. Burr corresponds with the general tenor of his political life. It has already been the subject of animadversion. It may not, however, be improper to retouch it.

The last moments of the late administration were distinguished by a peculiar solicitude to provide for its friends. New offices were created to remunerate infidelity to the public, and those who had displayed the greatest zeal and talents in defence of the ruinous measures of that administration were carefully appointed to fill them. The administration rushed into a precipitate bustle that broke down con-

stitutional prescription, "an illegitimate audacity that braved the common rules of decorum and trampled upon the sanctity of law. In a voice imperative our citizens proclaimed the unworthiness of their agents, and revoked their trust. Their subsequent intervals of power, however, were employed to perpetuate a system odious to the citizens and injurious to the country.

One of the most exceptionable acts of the late administration, was the establishment of a new corps of judges in the last moments of their political existence. This was done to keep a puissant department of the government in their hands : a department which affects life and property, and commands a corresponding influence. The phalanx were intended to counteract the succeeding administration, oppose the will of the nation, and to provide for a host of friends and dependents.

The Constitution wisely prohibits members of Congress from accepting offices created during their term of service. The obvious design of the prohibitory clause is to prevent them from creating offices for the purpose of filling them, themselves. The spirit of this provision was flagrantly violated in the transfer of some of the District Judges to the new Judiciary seats, and substituting members of Congress who had voted for the new Judiciary law. Such as Paine of Vermont, Greene of Rhode-Island, and Read of South-Carolina.* Mr. Adams too in his midnight appointments;

** Read and Greene voted in the Senate for the new Judiciary law. Mr. Giles asserted in his excellent speech on its repeal,*

anticipating the legitimate functions of his successor, and throwing obstacles in the way of his administration, evinced an insensibility to decorum, a mind estranged from patriotism. As the Constitution has deposited in Congress the power of erecting or abolishing Courts inferior to the Supreme Court, no substantial argument could be produced why the odious Judiciary law should not be destroyed, and the incumbents removed. Mr. Burr was, in the first ebullition of his patriotism, so decidedly for the measure, that no time in his opinion ought to be lost. An extra session ought to be called to abolish the system before it could be put into operation. Such was the tinkling and high sounding professions of the man. Let us now look at the event.

Upon the question of the repeal of the law, the federal party made their first stand of determined opposition to the new administration. Every menace which timidity could conceive, every invective which rancour could invent, every argument which genius could devise ; the most animated appeals to the passions, the most florid attempts at oratory, were poured upon the public. The existence of the union was threatened : we were warned to pause as we regarded our fire-sides and our altars, as we loved our wives and our children. The sword of rebellion was ready to leap from its scabbard ; the dagger of the assassin was half drawn ; and the bayonet of the ruffian was pointed at the bosom of our country. The federal party had hitherto carried their fa-

that if they had voted against it, it would not have passed. In consequence of the enacting of that law they were both immediately appointed Judges, by John Adams !

vorite points by clamor and appeals to the fears of men. The British treaty was imposed upon the country in this way against its better judgment. Who does not recollect the memorable year 1798, when rumours of pretended plots, of probable invasions, had wound up the public mind to such a state of irritation that we were on the point of imbruing our hands in each other's blood. Their past success had induced a belief that similar clamors, appeals, and denunciations, would produce a similar effect. But if a small desperate minority had been able by such unworthy means to drive a majority from a system they had adopted, it must be evident that the government would be virtually in their hands, and that we must forever bid adieu to republicanism in this country. On this occasion, therefore, it became the second officer of the government, on whom the favors of the republican party had been so largely bestowed, to exhibit himself a sincere and decided friend of the administration, to shew a manly front ; an erect attitude : and to let the factious and the disaffected know that they had nothing to expect from his favors or his smiles, from his vote or his influence.

On the second reading in the Senate of the bill to repeal the new Judiciary, a motion was made to refer it to a select committee, to consider and report alterations which might be proper in the Judiciary system of the United States, which was negatived 16 to 14. A question was then taken on the passing of the bill to a third reading, and carried in the affirmative, 15 to 15, with the casting vote of the Vice-President. It may be proper here to remark that no decisive question is taken upon a bill until it has progressed to a third read-

ing : the previous questions are considered as by no means committing a member either pro or con ; because a bill is open to amendment in every grade of its passage ; and a member may in its first stages, vote against its rejection with an expectation of ingrafting into it salutary amendments, and his failure of success may induce him to negative it on the final question. The Vice-President's casting vote, therefore, on the question to pass the bill to a third reading, was no decisive evidence of his being in favour of its final passage.

It now appeared that the senate was equally divided, and, agreeably to rule, the last question on the bill would be taken the ensuing day, when Mr. Burr would have to declare himself explicitly and thereby make a final stand with one of the great parties. Sickness in the families of two republican members detained them at home, and they were not expected in season to relieve Mr. Burr from his dilemma. It was not compatible with his policy to take a decided ground. He expects to be President at the next election. And yet he cannot hope for it from the republicans, who will unquestionably adhere to Mr. Jefferson, if his conduct should, as it no doubt will, continue to entitle him to their confidence. Nor can he expect it from the federalists alone, since they compose a small minority of the community. Mr. Burr's policy is to attach himself to the federalists *secretly*, and to draw over with him a number of republicans, sufficient when united with them to turn the scale in his favour. Here then he had a part to act which required no common address and management. A

temporizing conduct is the one a man so circumstanced will pursue. He will shun casting votes as a pestilence. And he will not, until the presidential election shall arrive, come out as the candidate of the federal party. At the election of the state legislatures who will choose the presidential electors, Mr. Burr's partizans will be made particularly acquainted with his views, and they will appear in every direction openly professing republicanism and secretly operating with the federal party.

Had Mr. Burr voted, on the repeal of the judiciary, with the republicans in the Senate, the federal party would have been too indignant ever to have adopted him. For although the leaders might have been disposed to receive him, they could not have brought the main body of the party to act with them in his favour. Had he on the contrary, voted manfully with the federalists, so much odium and distrust would have been attached to him, that he would have stood separate and alone from the republican party. His situation presented a problem sufficient to puzzle the most adroit sophist in the school of Machiavelian policy: And what added to its perplexity was the shortness of the time allowed him for its solution. After much consultation, however, an expedient was discovered, which, though inefficient, was preferable to that frank conduct which would at once have blasted his future prospects. It was to have the motion for a reference to a select committee new modelled and renewed. This was accordingly done, and it prevailed 15 to 15, the Vice-President giving his casting vote in its favor! A committee of five were immediately chosen, of whom three were decided opponents to the principle of the bill. This was a virtual re-

jection of it ; inasmuch as it was certain that the committee would never make a report favorable to the repealing principle. In this deep project, it is certain that Mr. Burr acted in concert with the federalists. Besides the external, the internal evidence of the transaction puts the matter beyond doubt. It can hardly be supposed that a motion would be renewed which was lost in the house the preceding day, without some new arrangement, without some concert which promised success. The federalists carried their committee by being fully prepared beforehand, which shews that they had every reason to believe that the motion would succeed. The votes of the republican members, who had no idea that the motion would be renewed, and who were entirely unprepared to meet it, were scattered. On the side of the federalists there were pre-concert and design ; on that of the republicans neither the one nor the other.

The arrival of an absent member enabled the republicans to discharge the committee, in whose hands the bill had been several days. They immediately passed the act to repeal the judiciary and sent it to the house of representatives *without the aid of Mr. Burr !*

It is unnecessary to repeat the disgraceful scenes which took place in the house of representatives in the discussion of the repeal. It was a mere competition among the federalists which should succeed in the race of scurrility. The character of the President was assailed with every epithet of reproach, and that of Mr. Burr was triumphantly contrasted with it. The Thersites of the faction in the house, Mr. Bayard, pronounced him a greater and a better man than Mr.

Jefferson. The encomium was re-echoed by the feeble Dennis, the vapid Rutledge, and the swelling* Dana.

But it is not necessary to follow the windings of the discussion in the house, it is alone important to observe the conduct of the friends of Mr. Burr (if any he had) who were devoted to his views, and closeted in his councils. And here it is a consolation to reflect that there was only *one Republican* in the House of Representatives who was suspected of favouring his schemes. The member most intimate with Mr. Burr was Dr. Eustis, of Boston. It is imposible to pronounce upon the extent of their connection. But certain it is, that if there were one person in that body disposed to follow the opinions of Mr. Burr, it was the member on the Boston seat. Dr. Eustis reserved himself until the final question on the bill. He then pronounced a studied speech. In this he admitted the constitutionality of the repeal, but declared it inexpedient without the incorporation of amendments which he supposed to be essential in the judiciary system. His speech was as impressive as we had a right to expect from his talents: he voted against the passing of the repealing bill.

Dr. Eustis is a Physician by Profession. The habits of his life, and the course of his studies, may have rendered him unqualified to judge of the goodness or sufficiency of judiciary establishments. But admitting him to be ever so compe-

* *When Dana rises in the house to speak, his cheeks tumefy prodigiously. The phrase in the house is that "Dana swells like a toad."*

tent, if he were sincere, why did he not bring forward his amendments and try them? And why did he reserve himself until the last hour? The answer is obvious. He knew little of the subject but what, in all probability, he had derived from Mr. Burr. Amendments were not the object, in the first place. The *destruction* of the bill was aimed at. A better system was then to be devised. And there was no knowing what effect an impressive harrangue in an extreme case might have. It could not have *defeated*, but it might have *divided* the party. It was viewed as the effusion of a man anxious to give color to the vote of Mr. Burr in the senate. The project to divide the republicans was ingeniously tried, and Dr. Eustis, for the first time, discovered the insignificance of his influence by his standing entirely insulated from the republican party: to heighten the calamity his conduct was imputed to the counsels of Mr. Burr, and the object intended to be produced was consequently defeated.*

* *The "ANTI-DEMOCRAT" printed at Baltimore, a second Porcupine in politics, made the following remarks, April the 13th 1802, on the conduct of BURR and EUSTIS.*

"EQUIVOCAL CHARACTERS."

"Men who, not on account of the convictions of their minds, but for the sake of holding the popularity of both parties, pretend an adherence to both, have generally, as they ever ought to be, when discovered, been neglected by both. Of such character we have strong grounds for suspecting to be, the VICE-PRESIDENT and DR. EUSTIS, of the house of representatives.

"We shall not, nor need we, mention more than one circumstance with respect to the Vice-President, to convince. Mr. Burr waited long after the commencement of the judiciary debate before he took his chair in the Senate. When there was a tie in the Senate, it was left to the Vice-President to determine whether or not the bill should go to a select committee: Mr. Burr voted that it should go." The federalists appear to understand him exceedingly well!

The vote of Mr. Burr in the Senate was received by the federalists as an open earnest of cordial attachment to their cause ; as a signal to embrace them. In a moment, he became the hero of *federal* prints, the subject of *federal* daubing, the sweet little *Isaac* of the *federal* party. He was wise as Solon, just as Aristides, magnanimous as Cæsar. Though his character was the same as when he was every thing *evil* in federal eyes, his undignified and trimming vote in the Senate cleansed the leper and made him *immaculate*. The federal party, with few exceptions,* claimed him as their own, and Mr. Burr tacitly acknowledged the validity of their title.

A more cordial intercourse immediately took place : according sentiments were interchanged. Mr. Burr's vote in the Senate was the publication of the bands, and the 22nd of February, the birth day of General Washington, was appointed for the consummation of the alliance.

* Such as General Hamilton, concerning whom the following paragraph appeared in the Boston Centinel, a *federal* paper, on the 5th or 6th of July, 1802.

“ The present enmity of vice President Burr, to General Hamilton, arose from the circumstance of the General's having used all his influence with the members of the *house of Representatives* to induce them to prefer Mr. Jefferson, when the votes of President were found to be equal between Jefferson and Burr. This preference the vice President has never forgiven, and many of the General's friends think he *missed a figure* in that preference.”

On that day, the federalists of the two houses of congress assembled at Stell's Hotel, to commemorate the nativity of the revolutionary hero. The meeting was *purely federal*, free from *republican* alloy. Mr. Gouverneur Morris presided, Mr. Bayard of Delaware acted as vice president. Due respect therefore to federal eminence was paid, and a nice punctilio to grade observed. Here, federal gall was copiously poured from the phial of the fallen party, upon the executive and his supporters, and the severest execrations in fervid prayer were invoked on their heads. Invektive succeeded to invektive, and denunciation to denunciation, amid peals of applause. The people were called upon to unsheath the sword of civil war, and the overthrow of the government was menaced. The toasts of this memorable few breathed hostility to the Executive and annihilation to freedom.

After dinner the Vice president made his appearance in the Pandemonium * and gave the following sentiment.

"AN UNION OF ALL HONEST MEN."

This toast requires no illustration. The uniform tenor of his public life, but especially of that portion of it which immediately precedes the commemoration, will best interpret it. Abstractly considered the sentiment is excellent. Associated with his general and recent conduct, it could

* It is not *known* to the writer whether Mr. Burr was invited or not to join in the anniversary. *Studious secrecy* was thrown over the transaction. The federalists have never, that we knew, divulged the fact, and Mr. Burr has not condescended to explain it. This point is therefore enveloped in mystery.

not but be viewed by the *federalists* as a modest overture to form an union with them. And it is most probable that Mr. Burr designed the sentiment to be thus accepted. He was himself silent as the grave on the subject ; not one word escaped him to those at Washington to whom he had been supposed to be politically attached. Nor were the federalists less taciturn. One or two weeks had elapsed before it was known at Washington that the Vice President had mingled so cordially with the distracted company. It should seem indeed that they considered the interview too acceptable, and the sentiment which fell from his lips too precious, to make either a subject of public notoriety. But although it was individually understood that the honour which Mr. Burr had been pleased to bestow upon the company should be kept profoundly secret, the avowed defection, apparent in the act, from those who had raised him to the Vice Presidency, who had placed him on that eminence on which bad men ought never to stand, was too exhilarating for many of the weaker heads of the company. The interview and the sentiment were communicated by letter to federal friends, and General Hamilton and others made no secret of it. When the rumour, however, was first committed to the winds in this city, many who were strangers to the secret movements of the Vice President, disbelieved it. But the fact is now too well established, too notorious to remain longer doubtful.*

* Mr. Burr also celebrated the 4th March, the *restoration of freedom*, with the republican members of congress. The *Washington Federalist* in satirizing his *duplicity*, puts into his mouth the following toast.

“The Vice President. St. Paul’s motto ; *All things to all men*, with honest men on the 22d of February ; with rogues on the 4th of March.”

That secrecy indicates the light in which the sentiment of the Vice President was viewed by the assembly of oppositionists. In the annunciation to the public of the meeting, not a word was said of Mr. Burr ; and in the publication of their insurgent toasts, that of the Vice President was carefully omitted.

The defects of the federal constitution respecting the mode of electing President and Vice President, was the source of that calamitous conflict in the house of representatives which brought the union to the brink of civil war. Every true friend to the peace and harmony of the United States, must be propitious to the removal of constitutional obstacles to both. As the constitution now stands, a man may be placed in the chair of State by an insignificant minority of the people. It incites intrigue ; it is favorable to usurpation.

Among others, the State of New-York, seriously reflecting on the evils of the constitution, which have menaced and may still threaten the overthrow of the government, with the unanimous consent of the legislature, recommended to congress suitable amendments. The principal one required that *every Presidential elector should write on his ballot whom he voted for as President and whom as Vice President*. This would have put an end to intrigue ; it would have secured to the people, at all future elections, the man of their choice. It was however fatal to the views of the Vice President. No union with the federalists which he might form, could, under the operation of so salutary a provision, be availing. No man could compass the Presidency in opposition to the will of the union. Hence Mr. Burr was opposed to the amendments. This, apart

from the nature of the case, was apparent in the Senate. For when, as President of that body, he read them to the house; he *trembled!* Nor did he get the better of the tremulous motion on the third day of their reading.

Another evidence of Mr. Burr's repugnance to the amendments is, that the *little band* in New-York were decidedly hostile to them. With the Vice President, they were of opinion, that, on their success, depended the completion of his ambitious schemes, the aggrandizement of themselves and their chief.

The amendments passed the house of representatives by the constitutional majority; in the Senate they were negatived by a majority of one only.

Mr. Burr retired, for the remainder of the session, from his chair in the Senate before the proposed amendments were introduced into it for discussion and decision. It is however, believed, that he had tampered with one of the republican members of that body, with whom he had frequently been closeted, and who carefully avoided the question in the house by leaving Washington the night before it was brought forward. This is the only man in the Senate suspected of harbouring the least *political attachment* for Mr. Burr. The writer may one day have it in his power to expose the *secret* history of the intrigues which defeated the amendments in that body.

Every *federal* Senator voted against the amendments. With the old adage fresh in memory, that "one good turn deserves another," gratitude for the kind vote of the Vice President for the appointment of the select committee,

induced them, in some measure, to vote against the amendments. Between Mr. Burr and themselves there appeared an identity of interests, of views, and of feeling.— There undoubtedly existed among them a secret understanding.

We pass over the *suppression* of Mr. Wood's History of the administration of John Adams in silence ; we have already exposed that transaction in its true colours. It may, however, be proper to remark, that the federal members of congress were, in all probability, by Mr. Burr, made acquainted with the suppression and the motives therefore.

The suppression was too favourable to them not to be acceptable ; too honourable to Mr. Burr in their estimation not to be gracious. For whatever be the defects of the composition of the history, it undoubtedly records, from authentic documents and in an authoritative shape, the *infamy* of *Judge Chase*, the unwarrantable speculations of Jonathan Dayton while a representative in congress, the violence, persecution and proscription of the late administration ; and generally its ruinous measures and iniquitous designs on the freedom of the country.

It is confidently asserted that Mr. Burr instigated opposition to the administration, in the city of New-York.— The writer has seen letters of his written while at Washington to persons in New-York stating, that “ in appointments to office made by the executive, no regard was paid to merit,” or words to that import. The less *cunning* and more loquacious part of his subalterns, in the city, spoke openly against the administration. Nay, some of them went so far as to ridicule the *person* and *dress* of the executive ! Such was their contemptible meanness ; such their unwor-

thy revenge ! As an instance of this it may be stated that *Davis*, the *disappointed office seeker*, did, in the auction room of his worthy partner, and in the presence of several persons, relate, in the most contemptuous manner, the story which appeared in Noah Webster's paper concerning the *dress* of the executive and the manner in which he was said to have received joint committees of the two houses of congress. *Davis* was at that time in habits of intimacy with Mr. Belden, the partner of Mr. Webster ; and what is a little remarkable, *two days* after the propagation of the calumny by *Davis* in the auction room, it appeared in Mr. Webster's paper ! It was afterwards new modelled by Mr. Coleman, and inserted in the Evening Post. *Davis*, in all probability, was the source of the childish tale,

Many instances of the opposition of the *little band* to the administration might be adduced ; but the size of this pamphlet already exceeds the limits originally prescribed. It may not, however, be amiss to notice some of their proceedings in the city of New-York.

Calculating on the efficacy of intrigue and their knowledge of the art, the *little band* entertained hopes that, at the spring election of this year in the city of New-York for members of assembly, they could succeed in sending to the legislature men zealous to promote the schemes of the Vice President. It was expected by those who knew the projects and designs of Mr. Burr, and of those who were enlisted in his service, that the *little handful of desperate and unsound citizens*, would make an effort to get some of their associates nominated and of course elected. The probability that such an attempt would be made, became every day more apparent. The votaries of freedom, the friends

of the Administration, perceived the necessity of opposing every effort to foist upon the public men unworthy of their confidence. Hitherto, though they had never ceased to watch their movements, they had been delicate of exposing their designs. Our fellow-citizens in general, honest themselves, had never suspected the views of any of their party. Nor was it deemed proper, *at that period*, to expose them. Presuming, however, on their want of information respecting Mr. Burr, and on their boldness, an attempt to nominate some of the *little band* was actually made, and happily defeated.

Previous to the election for members of the convention already mentioned, when Mr. Burr and his subalterns held frequent meetings to impose upon the citizens candidates of their own choosing, a few individuals, more bold and assuming than others, arrogated to themselves the right of nominating candidates for the legislature. The conduct, however, of Mr. Burr and his creatures at the time, excited such a just and general alarm among our citizens, that it was found necessary to alter the mode of nomination. Indeed, were they to permit so palpable an usurpation, so foul a pollution of the sources of representation, they would shortly enjoy but the shadow of freedom.

Accordingly, a general meeting of the citizens was called by public advertisement. The design of the meeting was to recommend to the different wards in the city, the appointment of a committee of nomination, each to furnish an equal number. It was thought, too, most proper that the meeting should fix on the number of persons to be sent from each ward, that an uniform rule might be pursued. Agreeably to the maxim, that a small body of

men are more liable to yield to the impressions of intrigue than a large one, the *Burrites*, pluming themselves on their adroitness in the art, were for a small committee. Those who were sensible of their machinations and determined to oppose them, considering that there is more safety in many than in few persons, and that our citizens, generally, were unacquainted with the arts of the *little faction*, advocated a large committee of nomination. The *Burrites* were for a committee of *three* persons from each of the seven wards, making in the whole a general committee of *twenty-one*. Their opponents were in favour of *seven* from each, making in the aggregate a committee of *forty-nine*. It was known that the *little band* had not more than *ten* active men among them, and it was probable that, if the general committee of nomination were to consist of no more than *twenty-one* persons, one half of that number would be favorers of the views of Mr. Burr. In this case four or five of the *faction* would have been nominated to represent the city in the state legislature, and there is no knowing what mischief they would there have done.

A committee of *seven* from each ward, however, was agreed upon in the general meeting by a large majority. So far an important point was gained.

It was now necessary to attend to the election of the committees in the respective wards. It was expected that the *subtlest* of the *Burritian arts* would be employed to compass the election of as many of the *band* as possible. The expectation was realized: their efforts were pretty successful: ten or eleven were elected. This evinces the wisdom of the proposition for a large committee.

The committee of nomination met. It was soon perceived by those who knew little of the intrigues of Mr. Burr, that *something was wrong*; that a mutual jealousy existed between the friends and foes of the administration. The former, by far the more numerous in the committee, were determined to negative every proposition for placing one of the *little band* on the list of nomination; and the latter were not less resolute to oppose the nomination of any of the Clinton family, all of whom they knew were hostile to the schemes of Mr. Burr.

The nomination of William P. Van Ness, so often mentioned in his "*View*," *the old and trusty servant of Mr. Burr*, was a favorite point with the *little band*, and they sought to accomplish it with peculiar solicitude. His past services in favor of *THEIR GOOD CAUSE*, entitled him to every mark of gratitude and attention! Van Ness, however, was negatived, having only *eleven* of the *forty-nine* votes;* this determined the fate of the *little band*, who became outrageous.

It would be tedious to follow the *Junto* through their various windings in and out of the committee of nomination; the reader will probably with ourselves, be satisfied with a statement of prominent facts.

Mr. George Clinton jun. was elected a candidate by the committee of nomination. The moment his election was ascertained in the committee, John Swartwout, marshal,

* The number of votes given for Van Ness are believed to be eleven only, but they were certainly not more than thirteen.

foaming with passion, rose and declared that, notwithstanding Mr. Clinton was elected, he would oppose him in the general meeting of citizens to whom the nomination of the committee was to be submitted.

There was no danger in this insolent menace of a *federal* officer in favor of a man *hostile* to the *federal* administration. For our citizens had become pretty accurately acquainted with the true foundation of the controversy which divided the committee : they were prepared, even then, in a great measure, to frown upon the *faction*.

But there was a great point to be gained—the election of Colonel John Broome, the republican candidate for Congress, in opposition to Mr. Joshua Sands. Every man was sensible that harmony was essential to the election of the Colonel in a district in which we had never been successful : no danger was apprehended as to the members of the state assembly, there being no *federal* opposition ; and of the election of Col. Broome we had the most flattering prospects. It was conceived, therefore, by the friends of the administration, that a developement of the plots of Mr. Burr and the extent of his connection—embracing Swartwout, Van Ness, Davis, and Smith, clerk in Chancery, which would have been made had Swartwout pursued in the general meeting, his threats in the committee—it was conceived that this developement, bursting upon our citizens suddenly and unexpectedly might produce disunion among them, sufficient at least to prevent the election of our respected candidate. They would undoubtedly have been shocked by the explosion ; and there was no time for the gradual operations of the mind to pro-

duce conviction either way. This might have been the case with many : and it was found in the event that about fifty votes turned the election in favour of Mr. Sands.

After three or four days of deliberation and reflection, that portion of the committee who had elected Mr. Clinton, were of opinion, that, for the sake of harmony and the furtherance of the election of Col. Broome, it would be proper to withdraw his name from the list of nomination ; especially as Marshal Swartwout and others of the *little band* had declared, with the greatest seeming sincerity, that Mr. Clinton was the only obstacle to a re-union of the party at that election. This was known to be hypocritic, if not false. His name, however, was withdrawn. Thus, for the sake of harmony and with a view to secure the election of Col. Broome, the *majority* permitted the *minority* to rule.

But the reverse of that harmony which had been anticipated by the friends of the administration, actually occurred. Instead of conciliating our citizens or tending to unite them in favour of Col. Broome's election, it had the contrary effect. They were offended with the committee for yielding so much to a minority whose views they justly appreciated. It was with difficulty the citizens could be prevailed upon even by the friends of the administration to accept the report of the committee of nomination, without the name of Mr. Clinton. They were indignant : and the peals of applause which interrupted and succeeded Mr. George Clinton's short but feeling address to the assembled citizens, testified their attachment to good principles, their affection for the federal executive, and the *debasement* of the *little band* who knew not

where to hide their heads. Never was virtue more completely triumphant over the arts of intrigue and deception.

It had been stated by some of the *little band* that if Mr. Clinton had been continued on the list of nomination, they would have opposed the republican ticket. They vaunted of their influence over the sixth ward ;* spoke of the respectable citizens as if they could be led by the nose by a few of the desperate of the faction. They represented those hardy sons of freedom as an *illiterate multitude* and calculated with confidence on their ignorance of a *Burr faction*. The opponents of the Burr party were eager to meet them on this subject.

But the withdrawing of Mr. Clinton's name from the nomination which was made the pivot of the contest, excited in the citizens so much disgust, that they seemed to think they had no object to contend for. They were in every essential ward, indolent and lethargic. And though the importance of the election of Mr. Broome was properly represented to them, it was in vain that efforts were employed to bring them from their houses to the polls. It is to the arts of the Burr faction that is truly attributable the loss of Mr. Broome's election.

The *little band* took no interest in the election of Mr. Broome. They were unfriendly to it. They had reason to believe that he was opposed to the schemes of their principal.

They wished for the election of a *federalist*. They held private meetings for that purpose, and Davis, the cats paw of

* This ward contains a majority of between six and seven hundred republican votes.

the *band*, was dispatched to Mr. Washington Morton to request him to prevail upon his brother, Mr. Jacob Morton,* to permit himself to be held up by the *Republicans*! On the *same day*, Davis applied to Col. Broome, and said "ME and my friends have thought of you, Mr. Broome, as a candidate for this (the second) district. It would gratify us much for you to stand: but upon the whole we think there is not much prospect of success, and we could not wish to put you to the mortification of a defeat!" Tender soul! At the same instant he was carrying on a negociation with a federalist!!

But the event proved that Mr. Broome had every prospect of success; and, with suitable exertion, would certainly have been elected. Sands prevailed by a majority of between fifty and sixty votes only.

No sooner was the poll closed than the *little band* commenced an open attack on the Executive and his friends in this city, and they chose as the medium of their communications to the public, the *Evening Post*, Edited by Mr. Coleman, and owned, it is said, by Gen. Hamilton and a few congenial associates. These attacks, which were very properly repelled, hastened the publication of the "Narrative" and this "View." How far they acted prudentially, considering their numerous offences, they have themselves before this time determined—They have, without doubt, bitterly repented of that boldness which is the constant companion of want of thought, and frequently hurries guilt beyond itself.

* Jacob Morton was spoken of by Mr. Burr as a proper person to fill the office of the Recorder of the city.

We close the present publication with a few brief remarks.

Mr. Burr was nominated to fill the second office in the government, under circumstances the most auspicious to his future prospects. The dignity conferred upon him by that nomination, ought to have been the guarantee of his fidelity to the Republican party. Perhaps so eminent an office never was bestowed upon a man of less merit, and none ever requited the beneficence with greater and more numerous evils. Above all other men it was incumbent on *him*, by his future good conduct, to merit the confidence and affections of his constituents. He was sensible, no man could be more so, that his past political life was exceedingly liable to yield to the touch of rigorous examination. It was therefore emphatically for him to avoid every thing that might excite an investigation; the natural course of which must issue in his disgrace.

But fortune had been so kind to Mr. Burr, that he was lavish of her favours and sported with her bounties. No sooner was he nominated to the second, than he grasped at the first office of the government. It was of no consequence to him that the people had designed it for Mr. Jefferson. Every thing in his creed is just that is practicable.

His road to glory was straight; its attainment easy by proper deportment. Mr. Jefferson is too fond of philosophic pursuits even to wish to be employed in the administration of the government longer than two Presidential terms; perhaps it would best accord with the bent of his mind to retire from it sooner, but the substantial interests of the country require

that he should occupy that office during two terms. At the end of that period, had his conduct been such as it ought to have been, Mr. Burr would have succeeded to the presidency as certainly as if by hereditary descent. But eight years, one year, one month, one hour was too long for Mr. Burr if he could compass it by any means.

Too boundless in his views, ambition, and disregard of the people, by grasping at every thing, he will lose the office he now holds, and alas ! his fancied political reputation. Mr. Burr is sensible that, previous to the adjournment of Congress, the republican members had given him up ! and it only remains for the people to confirm the opinion of every branch of the government concerning his political conduct. *He no longer enjoys the confidence of the government ! He is no longer viewed as a man attached and belonging to the republican party.* He has wantonly drawn upon himself this solemn annunciation ; and he must with resignation and penitence sustain its consequences. Should the PEOPLE discard him, as they no doubt will, the act will furnish an illustrious instance of their attachment to *principle*, in contradiction to that of *men* ; it will retard attempts at usurpation, whether by intrigue or by force ; and it will be a just and awful example of the wisdom and magnanimity of the nation, which the present will approve and future ages admire.

THE AUTHOR.

